

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—*Proverbs xxxi. 8, 9.*

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"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of municipal institutions, Slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where Slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the army has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."—JOHN Q. ADAMS.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of _____, State of _____, respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the Government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

CONGRESS.—The first session of the 37th Congress met on Monday last. Several important resolutions touching the slavery question—the real cause of the war—have been presented in both Houses.

CROWDED OUT.—Several articles prepared for this number are necessarily crowded out to make room for the President's Message, which we print elsewhere in our columns—We shall make room for them in our next.

THE SITUATION.

Since the issue of the November number of our monthly paper, events have transpired of greater importance to the Union cause than any since the Rebellion began. The great naval expedition, which had just set sail when we went to press, duly arrived at its destination in comparatively good order, with the loss of only two vessels, which drifted ashore in a severe storm, and fell into the hands of the rebels. As had been expected, Port Royal, S. C., turned out to be its rendezvous, and after a sharp engagement with the rebels, our troops took possession of their forts, and the rebels were compelled to retreat. The great cotton port of Beaufort was found to be entirely deserted by the chivalry, who had run away at the approach of our forces, leaving their slaves behind to welcome the Federal soldiers on their landing. Elsewhere we publish some scenes and incidents concerning these slaves, furnished by correspondents accompanying the fleet. Another fresh expedition is in preparation at that point, and we hope to hear soon of other important Southern ports falling into our possession.

Gen. FREMONT has been at last superseded, the order having reached him in the midst of preparations for battle. He had already taken possession of Lexington and Springfield, and was driving the rebels out of the State. His successor, Gen. HALLECK, seems to have repudiated all the acts of FREMONT, and adopted an entire different policy, forbidding fugitive slaves from entering the lines of his army, on the absurd ground that they return and give information to the enemy. Besides, our entire army in Missouri seems to have made a retrograde movement, falling back towards St. Louis, and leaving the Union men of the Southwest at the mercy of PRICE, the rebel General, who appears to have taken advantage of this strange movement, and is again occupying the positions in which FREMONT had successfully driven him from. Although various charges have been brought against FREMONT, the prime cause of his removal lay in his noble proclamation freeing the slaves.

Next to the taking of Beaufort, the great event of the month has been the capture of the Rebel Commissioners, MASON and SLIDELL, with their private secretaries. They were taken from the British steamer Trent, off the coast of Bermuda, by Com. WILKES of the San Jacinto, who was returning from the African coast, and are now safely lodged in Fort Warren, Boston harbor.

Our army on the Potomac remains "quiet, and no battle is expected just yet. The troops there are evidently preparing themselves for winter quarters. The Government seems first to obtain a footing in the Southern ports before hazarding a battle on the Potomac, although we are told that our army was never in a better condition for fighting, and the rebels are poorly fed and clothed, and returning home to guard the ports of their different States.

We have reports through rebel channels of an engagement at Pensacola, in which the guns of Fort Pickens are reported to have done considerable damage to the enemy.—It is reported that the rebel navy-yard at that point has been destroyed.

A stone fleet, commanded by our old friend RODNEY FRENCH, of New Bedford, has sailed within a week to close some Southern port, and the Navy and War Departments are preparing still another naval expedition for some unknown locality. In St. Louis, a mail-clad flotilla is being fitted out for the western waters. Upon the whole, the Union cause is brightening every day, and we have great hopes that the present Congress will pass a resolution calling upon the President to put an end to the rebellion by a proclamation freeing the slaves. The national flag now floats over every seceded State, except Alabama and Arkansas.

THE APPROACHING CONGRESS.

No Congress, since that by which the Declaration of Independence was adopted, has ever assembled under circumstances so momentous as that which meets in Washington on Monday, the 2d of December, 1861. Its opportunities, its difficulties and its duties are all alike great. How it will improve the first, overcome the second, and discharge the third, cannot be foretold. That it may be wise to improve, brave and courageous to overcome, and in duty firm and faithful, is the fervent prayer of all earnest and enlightened men. It may be destined to greater achievements in counsel than the nation in arms on the battle field, or it may be fated to vacillation, doubt and indecision, more disheartening to the loyal spirit of the country than all the blunders and defeats which have thus far distinguished the movements of the national army.

Congress, more than any other branch of the Government, is the representative of the wisdom and the wants of the whole people. Courts, cabinets and military councils stand further from the people. They act by established rule, are governed by precedents, and are chained down by parchments. To Congress is committed a larger freedom—a more comprehensive discretion. Its powers extend to the whole circle and province of human government. It can make and unmake, set up and cast down, enact and repeal, and lead all other departments of the Government.—Thus clad with ample powers, and fresh from the firesides of the people, where they have learned the deepest convictions of the people as to the wants of the times, its members may not be expected to follow the cold, metallic prescriptions of President, court or cabinet, but to act in the broad light of the lessons of the hour.

To Congress, then, we look for what neither cabinet nor councils of war have been able yet to give us, and that is, a straight forward, ample, uniform and definite policy to be pur-

sued by our army and other public servants towards slavery, the guilty cause of our present rebellion. No such policy has yet been declared. With a timidity and hesitation, which can only be explained by a long course of subserviency to the Slave Power, our rulers have only dared to approach slavery with cowardly *ifs* and *uays*. If slavery does this, that and the other, why, we *may be required* to do this, that and the other. If slaves are armed against the Government, it may become a military necessity, forced upon us—why, why, to do something, which the rebels will much regret! One General gives notice that he will not allow a slave to come within his lines; another is commanded to employ them, and even arm them. One gives notice that he will treat slaves as contraband of war; and another, that he has no intention to disturb the slaveholders in any of their rights of property. Congress, last July, declared that it is no part of the business of our army to return fugitive slaves to their masters; but in the face of this resolution of Congress, our army has been employed in this inhuman and scandalous work repeatedly, and up to this hour the temptation of re-enslaving their confiscated bondmen, now within our lines, is held out to the rebels with more or less prominence to win them back to loyalty. This abominable truckling to the cause of all our calamities, it should be the first business of the approaching Congress to rebuke. The members of that body should see to it that resolutions solemnly adopted by Congress are entitled at least to Executive respect, and should not be contemptuously disregarded by army or officers.

There are several measures short of the abolition of slavery which we hope to see brought promptly to the notice of Congress. The first is the policy of excluding colored citizens from the army, and from the privilege of assisting in suppressing rebellion. Let this thing be thoroughly discussed, and let it be ascertained if it can be, whether any motive other than a most narrow and irrational prejudice can be assigned for this exclusion.—Whether the reason for this policy is founded in prejudice, or in deference to the slaveholding rebels, or in both, it is alike weak and unworthy, and should be at once abandoned.—Both in the war of Independence, and in the war of 1812, colored citizens were employed to fight the battles of the country, and won for themselves the grateful commendations of their Generals and of the country at large.

Now is the time to settle the question, whether colored men, born upon American soil, are Americans or foreigners, aliens or citizens, whether they can fill the places and eat the bread of freemen, and yet not be required to share the duties, responsibilities and dangers incident to great national exigencies, such as are now happening to this great Republic. That colored free men are citizens, was never questioned in the earlier days of the Republic. The rule was that the moment a man born upon American soil became free, he also became a citizen. The highest authority, executive and judicial, North and South, prior to the year 1820, admitted their citizenship. MONROE admitted our citizenship when Missouri applied for admission into the Union. JACKSON admitted our citizenship when he called us to enlist in the United States service during the war of '12. MAR-

TIN VAN BUREN admitted our citizenship in the Convention which framed the Constitution of this State. Judge KENT has strongly asserted our rights as citizens. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS has given no other opinion. Eleven out of the thirteen original States accorded to black freemen all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens, including the right of suffrage. Our Secretary of State, Mr. SEWARD, consistently with all his well-known principles, and in the face of Judge TANEY, has granted a passport to a free black man of this State to travel about the world as a citizen of the United States. It now remains for the National Congress, not only in view of the national exigencies, but in view of the right of the case, to affirm our complete citizenship, and to act consistently with that affirmation, by immediately authorizing the enrollment of colored men, as well as others, in the service of the country.

Congress has also to decide upon the all-commanding question as to its own constitutional power to provide for the common defence, and to determine what is implied in that power—whether it can take private property in houses, lands, horses and cattle for the common defence, and are yet restrained from touching slave property. If the slaves are property, why should they not be subject to seizure and confiscation like other rebel property? If they are men, why has Congress not the right to put arms in their hands and require them to defend the country that feeds them, from rebellion and anarchy?—When the Constitution was submitted to the people of Virginia for adoption, PATRICK HENRY demonstrated beyond refutation that Congress has the right and the power under the constitutional provision, making it the duty of Congress to provide for the common defence, and the general welfare, to abolish slavery whether in peace or in war.

Another question awaiting the action of this Congress is, What shall be the condition, after the war, of such slaves who have been employed in picking cotton or performing other services for the Government? Justice and humanity alike make it the duty of the Government to declare its policy at that point. The poor slaves are running all manner of risks to life and limb to reach our lines, with the impression, if once set to work by the Government, they will surely be free. We have no fear that our Republican Government will ever replunge any one of these into the hell of slavery; but Congress should by all means set all doubt on the point at rest, by declaring just what the Government will do with them.

We take it that about the only business of Congress will relate to the slaveholding rebellion. The nation can have no patience with any measures or debates which do not look to the speediest and most permanent suppression of this stupendous crime. The loyal people, with every wish to support the Government, are already disgusted with the tenderness with which the Administration treats the cause of the war, and the total want of any settled and uniform policy with respect to it. The course pursued by the Congress meeting at this tremendous crisis in the life of this nation will certainly decide the fate of this Republican Administration, and may possibly decide the fate of the nation. Oh! that our representatives may have

the needed wisdom, and above all, the statesmanlike courage to strike down the guilty cause of all this war, and thus set the nation in safety forever. The opportunity is sublime and matchless. The cup of slaveholding iniquity is full to the brim, and is running over. Let the accursed thing receive its rightful doom at the hands of the present Congress.

THE WOULD-BE MOBOCRATS AT SYRACUSE.

We have of late years made it a rule not to celebrate the outrages and insults to which we are subjected sometimes in the prosecution of our abolition labors. Civility being the rule, we have not been disposed to magnify the exceptions. We notice the attempt to get up a mob against us at Syracuse, less for the purpose of denouncing the mobocrats, than for commending, gratefully, the prompt and effective manner by which they were defeated and rebuked by the city authorities, and by the respectable people of that place. The main facts of the case are elsewhere published in our columns from the *Journal* and the *Standard* of Syracuse, both of which papers, it will be seen, properly condemn the meditated outrage. We thank them for it—not only from personal considerations, but on behalf of the sacred cause of Free Speech and Civilization, as against Despotism and Barbarism.

Upon entering Syracuse, side by side with the handbill announcing our meeting, was the following at every corner:

"NIGGER FRED COMING.

"This reviler of the Constitution, and author of 'DEATH IN THE POT' and who once in this city called George Washington a Thief! Rascal!! and Traitor!!! is advertised to lecture on 'Slavery' again on Thursday and Friday evenings of this week at Wieting Hall!!!

"Shall his vile sentiments again be tolerated in this community by a constitutional liberty-loving people? or shall we give him a warm reception at this time, for his insolence, as he deserves? Rally, then, one and all, and DRIVE HIM FROM THE CITY! Down on the arch fugitive to Europe, who is not only a coward, but a traitor to his country!!!—RALLY, FREEMEN! Admission ten cents."

This paper was a surprise to us, as it was perhaps to most of the people of Syracuse.—It was the work of midnight, perpetrated at the assassin's favorite hour. Where it was printed, and by whom put up, nobody outside of the moral assassins could tell; but there it was, and with it the probability of a furious mob—for in every large community, however respectable, there is always base and combustible material enough to be kindled into violence by such appeals. It was gratifying to find that the inflammatory placard contained little else than downright lies. Instead of reviling the Constitution, we have for the last ten years vindicated the Constitution.—Instead of calling WASHINGTON a "thief," "rascal" and "traitor," and the like loathsome epithets, we have uniformly spoken of him as an enemy to slavery, and as giving his dying testimony in favor of the freedom of all men, by emancipating all his own slaves. We were not, as the lying placard says, advertised to lecture on slavery, but on the Rebellion, its Cause and Remedy. But the instincts of the pro-slavery mob was not to be misled by any glosses of language. They saw well enough that the true cause was to be assigned for the Rebellion, and the true remedy proposed for its suppression; and they anticipated us, as did certain other dark

beings, among the tombs, who once thought themselves tormented before their time. The purpose was to inflame the mob, to attack and drive us from the city; but never was a base purpose more signally defeated. The very means adopted defeated their object. By a provision in nature, even the rattlesnake sounds an alarm before darting his poison into the blood of his victim; and in this instance the Mayor of the city, the police authorities and citizens took the alarm and provided amply for the attack—so that the cowardly creatures were compelled to hide away in the same darkness which covered the origin of their lying placard. They not only defeated themselves, but handsomely assisted in making our meeting in Syracuse a success; for though they may have caused some to stay away on account of the danger of a riot, many others doubtless came on that very account, and with the purpose to prevent any such disgraceful and barbarous proceeding. The mouthpiece of the mobites—a miserable sheet called the *Courier*—confessed its blunder in the morning, and in a bungling editorial of a column's length, endeavored to get rid of the odium of the whole affair. But the public generally took its denials as admissions of its guilt, and it lost by speech what it might have gained by silence.

The owner of the splendid Hall (Dr. WIERING) in which we lectured, bore himself bravely. Before we arrived, he had been repeatedly called upon to close the doors of his Hall against us; but he sternly and indignantly refused to do any such thing, even if its walls were to be battered down by cannon as a consequence of his refusal. Remonstrating with the mobocrats, he said he had opened the Hall for WILLIAM L. YANCEY to advocate slavery, and he was in favor of equal liberty of speech on the other side.—When reminded that FREDERICK DOUGLASS is a negro, he gave the mob to understand that his principles of freedom applied to humanity—not to color. His example of firmness and liberality is worthy of all commendation and imitation by other men owning halls and churches.

It was especially gratifying, too, to find that, passing through the city that day, and seeing the inflammatory placard, Hon. GERRIT SMITH determined to stop and attend the meeting, instead of going on as he had otherwise intended to do. Any man can stand up for truth and right when unassailed; but this man will be remembered by posterity as being especially the friend and defender of unpopular truth—truth assailed by unmitigated baseness and violence. His presence at the meeting soon became known, and diffused a gratifying influence among the audience; for however men differ from Mr. SMITH, all are compelled to confess the nobleness of his spirit, and his high moral and intellectual endowments.—Mr. SMITH, at the close of our lecture, was called upon and spoke for a few moments in his usual and impressive manner, not hesitating to say a good word for us in the faces of those who had sought to provoke the fury of a mob upon us.

We have, too, a grateful word for Rev. S. J. MAY, who, on this occasion, acted precisely like himself, and in full accordance with his life-long devotion to the cause of equal and impartial liberty. He is pastor of a church which numbers among its members many of

the most influential citizens of Syracuse; but the moment he found that an attempt was to be made to trample upon our liberty of speech, he actively set himself to the work of defeating it. He went upon the platform with us, to share with us whatever wrath or odium our presence might provoke. We appreciate the conduct of Mr. MAY all the more, because we have not of late years acted with him in the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which he is a distinguished member. When the mob howls, and slavery with bloody hands is throttling the liberties of the nation, men like Mr. MAY know on which side to give the weight of their influence. He not only gave his aid and countenance to our meetings, but what was more distressing to the mobocrats, he gave notice of the purpose of having delivered in that city a series of abolition lectures, naming Messrs. GARRISON, PHILLIPS, GERRIT SMITH and PARKER PILLSBURY as among the speakers who would address them—so that instead of silencing our uninfluential negro voice, the mob will have to bear as well several of the ablest men in the land on the side of the enslaved.

The aim of the mob was to humble and mortify FREDERICK DOUGLASS. Just as if a man could feel himself insulted by the kick of a jackass, or the barking of a bull-dog. It is, to be sure, neither pleasant to be kicked nor to be barked at, but no man need to think less of himself on account of either.

FREMONT AND HIS PROCLAMATION.

We have recently seen some interesting samples of young men, dressed in military costume, and bound for the seat of war. As we looked upon those noble beings, so promptly responding to their country's call, we felt an involuntary sinking within ourselves, and silently inquired, "When shall this fratricidal war have an end?" The question necessarily induced its legitimate train of thought, legitimate to us, and as follows:

Before this war is terminated, the men who comprehend its nature, and realize in some measure its design, (for it is too momentous an affair to be accidental,) will have something to do in directing those measures which are eventually to bring it to a successful issue. The measures hitherto adopted strike one as inadequate to accomplish the object for which they have been inaugurated. The apparent trifling with matters of the last importance to the stability and perpetuity of any Government; the want of firmness in rigidly enforcing fitting penalties against offenders—as the treatment of traitors as belligerents in honorable warfare—all go to undermine the confidence of reflecting men in the strength and true dignity of a Government which they ardently love. We have for a time expected, with almost every retuning sun, that some blow would be struck to give relief to a picture whose sombre hues have, up to the present time, saddened many a hopeful heart. But disappointment has succeeded disappointment, until we feel compelled to look in another direction, and to other men, to relieve the country from this direful scourge, and place it upon a basis whose *quality* shall be twin brother to its *claims*.

We venture the assertion, that a majority among the intelligent and thoughtful of the nation were *never* more hopeful since the commencement of this war, and never gave

vent to feelings so jubilant with satisfaction, as when they read the fearless and earnest Proclamation of JOHN C. FREMONT, given in the Department of Missouri. Honest men of all parties hailed it as auspicious of a speedy salvation from the evils that at present afflict us. But alas! politicians who have sometimes been mistaken for statesmen, and who affect to see goblins in all shadows which do not directly follow themselves, saw either an extinguishment of their own hopes of preferment, or some other equally important evil to result from this Proclamation; and it and its author were quietly laid aside under pretexts equally frivolous. If the people were as ready to listen to complaints originated in the chafing of some ambitious and restless spirit, many of our leaders would undoubtedly be found to "live in glass houses." But JOHN C. FREMONT and his *timely* Proclamation are not forgotten; nor can any amount of well feigned prosecution, or equally bitter persecution, entomb the instrument and its author.—In *three years more* the people will call for the man and his principles to *end this war!* and then they will sanction the death of slavery in the man of their choice. And, too, this unnatural war will render its death constitutional.

Complaints of mistakes and extravagance might be very common. Where are the mistakes of Bull Run, Ball's Bluff, and many others of like character, though of seemingly less significance? And why, in the midst of the councils of the nation, in the face of the grand army, and where money is lavished without stint, have the enemy been allowed to blockade the Potomac, and been permitted to hurl defiance in the teeth of the Government, under the very eaves of the Capitol? But we will not complain. He whose genius has dealt a well directed blow at the evil which has provoked this war, and whose indomitable energy would have carried out his purpose, must be required by this insatiate monster as a sacrifice; but Nature is remunerative, and, Phoenix-like, he shall arise from the ashes around the altar upon which he has been offered, and with the might of his unswerving purpose, destroy the monster that has, up to the present, performed all its devilish orgies in the very halls of our National Legislature, and made its horrid feasts upon the heart's blood of its best interests. In this we have not spoken with any reference to our prevailing predilections in regard to the hateful institution of slavery, but to facts as they shadow themselves before us in the horoscope of the future.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SLAVERY.—The Evening Post publishes the following statement of a New Yorker writing from Washington, in regard to the policy of the Administration and slavery:

"The policy of the Administration seems to be getting more and more clear and decided, as the war goes on, in respect to slavery. It is the almost universal opinion that the war will put an end to it; many, indeed, who a short time since showed the old democratic prejudices on the subject, now say the war not only will but ought to put an end to it; and a decided change of sentiment is perceptible among the officers of the army. Rejoice with me in the feeling that sounder notions are beginning to prevail."

Frederick Douglass delivers a lecture to-night (December 3d) in Boston.

Dealings with Slavery and the Contrabands.

FACTS, SCENES AND INCIDENTS.

The recent orders of the government in relation to the contraband negroes have set the newspaper correspondents on the track of investigation, and the testimony that they give is quite curious. Their accounts of the condition and sentiments of the blacks in the rebellious regions into which our armies have penetrated confirm the statements recently made by Mr. PIERCE in the Atlantic Monthly. The negroes at the South, so far from being degraded animals, are shown to be as keenly alive to the events going on about them as the majority of their masters, and quite ready to take their freedom in any way that is presented to them.

Here are some specimens of the evidence. The first is from a Maryland letter in the Boston Journal:

In a former letter I spoke of the opinions of "my host," that he considered this to be an abolition war. He is not alone in the opinion; for the negroes also look upon it as such. The question arises: how did the negroes form this opinion in regard to it? It is plain they do not read the papers; neither have they been informed of it by abolition emissaries. They have formed their opinions by hearing it discussed by their masters, or by that instinctive feeling which all men have that they are entitled to freedom. Not a few have availed themselves of the commotion of the times, and as riches take to themselves wings, so they have taken to themselves legs, and ran away. Some masters, seeing the storm approaching, sold their slaves last spring. Some who loved secession more than Union, emigrated to Dixie, leaving their negroes behind, who in turn have emigrated to parts unknown. It is evident that through all this region the people consider that their hold upon human flesh as property is very much weakened, and the negroes are accordingly treated with great kindness. In reality it is weakened. Every negro has heard of the North, but now, with soldiers all over the country, it is certain that they will obtain a definite knowledge of geography. They are becoming restless, and though the soldiers pass on, the influence of their advent will not be lost. The negroes will remember it, especially the younger ones, who on some future morning, quite likely, will not answer when the master calls. I do not think that the soldiers encourage the slaves to run away, but it is an inevitable consequence from the occupation of the country by the troops that they should learn more of freedom than they knew before, and it would be strange, indeed, if knowing more they did not feel the kindling desire to make the most of their knowledge.

The next is from a letter in the Boston Traveller, written at Hall's Hill, Va.:

When I have been on picket guard I have sometimes had opportunities to visit houses, and have talked with a number of slaves.—They all talk the same way with slight variations. The following conversation with one that came into our camp a few days since will serve as a specimen of the whole.

"How were you treated, Robert?"

"Pretty well, sar."

"Did your master give you enough to eat and clothe you comfortably?"

"Pretty well, till dis year. Massa hab no money to spend dis year. Don't get many clothes dis year."

"If you had a good master; I suppose you were contented?"

"No, sar."

"Why not, if you had enough to eat and clothes to wear?"

"Cause I want to be free."

"You say you have a wife and children owned by another man; that they are treated well, and you had a chance to see them once a fortnight. If you were all free how would you manage to support your wife and children?"

His eyes sparkled as he answered, "I'd hire a little cabin with a little garden, and

keep a pig and cow. I'd work out by the day, and I would save money. I've got eight dollars now that I laid up dis summer. But if I didn't save a cent, I should feel better to be FREE."

"Can you read and write?"

"No, sar. Massa know we can't read a word; but dis summer he's skeered to hab us see a paper."

"What do the slaves say about the war?"

"Dey tink Lincoln is gwine to free us."

"Where did they hear that?"

"Massa said so, last fall, afore he was President."

"Did you ever hear of John Brown?"

"I did so, sar. Ebery body hear 'bout him. Dar was great time when he come to Harper's Ferry. Folks was all skeered to death. Dey went up from all round here to see him hung."

"Do you think he was a good man?"

"Yes, sar, a mighty fine man"

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette, writing from Nolin, Ky., says:

A batch of eight slaves arrived in camp yesterday from the Green River country or beyond. The party, with one or two who had been here before, were all turned over to the Provost Marshal, who is as yet sorely puzzled to know what to do with them. If our Administration were not sometimes in the habit of having two or three different policies on the same subject, in operation in different parts of the country at the same time, there could be no hesitation. Secretary Cameron's recent instructions to Gen. Sherman would seem to have no doubt that the negroes are to be set to work whenever they come to camp.

It is interesting to notice the terror the arrival of these slaves strikes into the secessionists and semi-secessionists of the country. So long as the army was occupied half the time in defending itself against the rebels, the other half in guarding and returning the rebels' property to them, treason was rather a safe and pleasant game to play at. Now, when the idea begins to be hinted that while the rebels are doing their utmost to destroy the Government, they need not in the meantime expect the Government to keep a zealous watch over their property for them, they are horror-struck alike at the audacity of this abolition Administration and at the mortal dangers which it threatens. Hitherto rebellion has been a pastime. A common sense treatment of this contraband question will soon teach the lesson that rebellion is but a synonym for beggary; and the number of 'ardent sons of the South who are eager to battle for their rights' will be wonderfully diminished.

The Chicago Tribune's correspondent at Paducah, Ky., writes:

A few days ago there was a 'scene' at Gen. Paine's headquarters worth describing. Some time previous, a black woman, accompanied by a child, came to the General's quarters, desiring protection; and in reply to the question 'if she was a slave,' stated that she was not, and that her free parents were at Clarksville, Tenn. She was employed to assist in the housework, which she continued to do up to the time we mention, when a lady who lived a few miles from town came to the headquarters and inquired for Gen. Paine, and on being presented to him as Mrs. F—, asked him if he had 'her nigger' there. The General, supposing that she meant a negro man for whom unsuccessful search had just been made, replied that he had not. 'Why,' said she, 'haven't you got my nigger woman and child here?' 'Negro woman and child,' said the General; 'perhaps so; come and see.' The woman was called and came to the door. 'That's the one; she's mine. She left me [at such a time] and stole a horse and a lot of other things, the mean thing,' &c., &c., with divers epithets more emphatic than refined. 'Stole a horse!' said the General, in a tone of utter amazement, 'I don't see how that can be. One piece of property steal another? I've heard of a horse running away with a wagon, and pigs getting into the gar-

den and eating up the potatoes, but I never heard that called stealing.' The bit was so palpable that of a room full every one laughed outright, even to the lady's father; but she did not seem to see the joke, and maintained a sour gravity.

A venerable looking gentleman, the lady's father, who was sitting near, spoke up and said: 'Daughter, take the oath, and be a good loyal woman.' But still she hesitated, and thought as she was a woman she ought to have her 'nigger' without taking the oath, when the General assured her that she not only couldn't get the negro without taking the oath, but that if she violated the oath after taking it, that he would be sure to know it, and that she would in that case not only lose her negro, but whatever property she had beside.

The same correspondent also tells this story:

The Colonel of the Illinois Ninth has a healthy way of dealing with such cases. He has a hearty contempt for the whole generation of 'nigger-catchers' as he terms them; and by being accosted by a couple of that stripe who showed him a description of his cook, he cursed them most heartily, and assured them that if they were inside the camp after he had counted three, (by which he meant three minutes,) that he would make his men kick them out, and that if he ever caught them there again, he would make his men duck them. A few days afterwards one of his own men came to him and asked for a file of men to arrest two runaway negroes who belonged to his uncle in Missouri, and also for the privilege of keeping them in camp until he could send word to his uncle. The Colonel boiled over. He asked him if he thought he commanded a regiment of nigger-catchers. 'Begone to your quarters,' said the Colonel, 'and let your uncle do his own nigger catching.'

The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Post, under date of Nov. 8th, says:

The little steamer Stepping Stones, the other night brought up a half-dozen contrabands, picked up by a tug-boat in the Lower Potomac. Their escape from the Virginia shore was almost miraculous. The six got into a canoe made of a pine log, and floated out into the stream in the night, where they were lucky enough to find the tug-boat Bailey, which took them on board at once. Two of them left wives behind, whom they did not venture to trust with their secret of escape. They express the opinion that a large number of fugitives have been drowned in the Potomac, as the runaway slaves, when they get to the river, become desperate in the fear of pursuing masters.

From the accounts given by those and other fugitives from Virginia, the slave population there is suffering very much because of a lack of clothing and provisions. The master takes care of himself first, as a matter of course, and the rebel troops must be fed and clothed next, while the slave comes in last for his share, which is very small indeed.—Under this state of things, many negroes run away to the land of plenty, and thousands of others expect soon to do the same thing, if an opportunity occurs. The far-seeing men of the South are looking forward to the holidays with much anxiety, for that is the time on which the great negro insurrections have always occurred. Should this season be passed in peace, they are confident that the negroes can be kept down through the war.

A correspondent of the Tribune writes from Springfield, Mo., Oct. 30. as follows:

If half the reports which we receive from Lane's command are true, it will require several more modifications of Gen. Fremont's proclamation to make the Kansas boys respect the inalienable right of secessionists to hold the negro in bondage. A friend who has just returned from Lane's brigade informs me that there were one hundred and fifty negroes with it, and was told there that one hundred had been sent to Kansas a few days before. As for this command, it is remarkable that negro servants are a good deal more numer-

ous than they were when we left St. Louis; and I have not heard as yet of Gen. Fremont engaging in the business of slave-catching.—Yesterday morning, a secessionist came into our camp, and claimed a negro who is acting as body servant to Col. Owen Lovejoy of the staff, which was about as near the climax of absurdity as it is possible to arrive. Colonel Lovejoy quietly advised him to leave the camp by the shortest possible road—and the gentleman left! 'I would return the slave, certainly,' remarked the Colonel afterward, 'if I found any man who owned him.'

A slave named Peter—an active and intelligent man, though black as Erebus—arrived here yesterday from the rebel army, after a somewhat peculiar experience. Peter is the joint property of Capt. Vaughan, a rebel in Price's army, and Capt. Bigby, a staunch Union citizen of this town. When Vaughan was leaving for the South, two weeks ago, he insisted on taking his half of the chattel Peter along with him as a body servant.—Capt. Bigby, of course, objected; but this Vaughan had the power on his side, and carried away the negro. Peter, however, being, like all the slaves, on the Union side, found means to send to Capt. Bigby that he would embrace the first opportunity to run away and return to him; and surely enough, at noon yesterday, he was back again, with a horse, which he had ridden without saddle, bridle, blanket, or spur—guiding him by rope halter—all the way from Price's camp at Neosho, more than eighty miles distant, since dusk on the previous evening! It would be difficult to find a match for this in all the instances of hard riding under adverse circumstances.

JOHN COCHRANE'S POSITION.

On the occasion of Col. Cochrane's regiment receiving their new uniforms, the gallant Colonel delivered an address to his soldiers, in the presence of Secretary Cameron and other distinguished gentlemen. The most important point in his argument was in relation to the treatment of slaves during the present contest. He said we should use every means in our power to subdue the rebellion; that we should take their cotton and sell it, or burn it, as might be best; seize their arms and munitions of war; confiscate their property, and when necessary, take their lives, and, as their slaves were used as an element of strength against us, we should not hesitate to take them, and, if necessary, to place arms in their hands that they might assist in establishing the rights of a common humanity. This sentiment was cheered by the soldiers with unbounded enthusiasm. At the close of the address, they loudly called upon Secretary Cameron, who stepped forward and said:

SOLDIERS:—It is too late for me to make you a speech to-night, but I will say that I heartily approve every sentiment uttered by your noble commander. The doctrines which he has laid down I approve as if they were my own words. They are my sentiments—sentiments which will not only lead you to victory, but which will in the end reconstruct this our glorious Federal Constitution. It is idle to talk about treating with these rebels upon their own terms. We must meet them as our enemies, treat them as enemies, and punish them as enemies, until they shall learn to behave themselves. Every means which God has placed in our hands it is our duty to use for the purpose of protecting ourselves—I am glad of the opportunity to say here, what I have already said elsewhere, in these few words, that I approve the doctrines this evening enunciated by Col. Cochrane. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

GEO. BANCROFT ON RETURNING SLAVES.

At a recent meeting held in New York City to discuss the method and means of raising aid for the suffering Union men in North Carolina, Geo. Bancroft, the historian,

made a speech, from which we quote the following extract:

Listen to the words that come to you from the tomb of Andrew Jackson: 'The Union must be preserved at all hazards.' (Great cheering.) I do not understand turning a soldier of the United States into a constable to keep the peace on the plantations of the secessionists. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause. 'Give it to them.') It is not the part of strength to return slaves; it is not the part of a brave man to make himself a police officer of that sort. (Cheers.) It is not the part of a soldier who fights under the flag of the revolution. It is not worthy of a man of honor. It is not consistent with the duty of a commanding officer in the service of the people of the United States. We send the army into the South to maintain the Union, to restore the validity of the Constitution; let him begin by placing the Constitution in power, by respecting it and upholding it.

COL. JENNISON'S POSITION.

The Missouri correspondent of the Boston Traveller gives the following account of the arrival of John Brown, Jr.'s, company of volunteers at Kansas City, Nov. 14th, and a short speech from Col. Jennison delivered on the occasion:

Capt. John Brown, Jr.'s company of Mounted Riflemen joined the command to-day.—They numbered 60 men, and were under command of Lieuts. Bostwick and George H. Hoyt (formerly of the Suffolk Bar.) Captain Brown is recruiting, and will be here soon.—As they marched up Main street, they sang the "John Brown" song in splendid style, and with great effect.

It was a moment in my life worth being proud of when, later in the evening, the same lyric was sung in front of the Colonel's tent, and our gallant leader came out and responded to the enthusiastic cheers of the new comers. Colonel Jennison gave his programme, in the course of which he said:

"Old John Brown when living was the only man he took stock in, and when he first took arms under him he vowed never to lay them down until the last slave was free in the United States. He had but six men when he commenced and the nation against him.—The time had come. He meant to work, and if the Government objected to decisive action or sought longer to evade the true issue and strike at the cause—Slavery—they could have his commission, but he meant to go in then on his own hook; all his regiment was abolitionists, and if there were any others, he didn't want them in it. The rights of Union men must be respected, but the last thing valuable to the rebels and of use to us will be taken. If a rebel's slave comes into our camp, it must be protected to the last bullet and the last man. Nor was he too good to fight by the side of the contraband, and he could find no better use for rebel arms than to put them in the hands of black men."

This is a specimen brick from the speeches which were made. Col. Anthony, as also Lieuts. Bostwick and Hoyt and your reporter made speeches. Speaking of contrabands, our stock has been increased by the addition of some twenty since Sunday.

CHARLES SUMNER ON THE SUBJECT.

The Hon. Charles Sumner delivered a characteristic lecture in Philadelphia, recently, before the largest audience ever assembled there. He said that the policy of maintaining Major Anderson in possession of Fort Sumter, was dictated by Gen. Cass. The Government were now about to adopt the course indicated by the motto, 'On to Liberty.' He read a letter from the Secretary of War to the commander of the naval expedition, authorizing, among other things, the freeing of fugitive slaves, and the employment of them in 'squad or companies,' in those avocations to which they were best adapted. He thought that this course was most noble and commendable. (Great applause.)

By the way, the instructions of Secretary Cameron to Commander Sherman, of the great naval expedition in regard to 'fugitives

from labor,' cover all the offensive ground of Gen. Fremont's proclamation, and even go a step further in allowing the use of the slaves 'in squads or companies' for any purpose which Gen. Sherman may consider expedient or necessary. In plain terms, they allow him to use all good fighting muscle wherever he may find it, without regard to color. Will the President now correct and counteract the War Secretary's instructions, or will he retract the sharp rebuke of Gen. Fremont, and allow the gallant Pathfinder the credit he deserves, for taking the right course in advance of the Secretary and the Administration? We claim for Gen. Fremont 'the right of discovery,' of the way to kill rebellion. So says the Pittsburg Dispatch, and so say we.

GEN. HEINTZELMAN AND WIDOW TRIPLET.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune relates the following incident:

Widow Triplet, who lives near Alexandria, and whose sympathies are believed to be with the rebels, unaccountably lost eight slaves.—She thought that they were within the lines of Gen. Heintzelman's command, and applied to that officer for relief. Forseeing one possible objection to the return of her chattels, she backed her petition with a penal bond, pledging herself not to sell them South. The bond, Gen. Heintzelman told her he was lawyer enough to know to be worthless, because without a consideration. The slaves he declined to search for or surrender, adding that he was no 'negro-catcher.' It is said that this reply has excited great apprehension in the minds of Widow Triplet's slaveholding neighbors.

THE NEGROES AT BEAUFORT.

The Evening Post's correspondence from Beaufort gives the following particulars about the negroes in that vicinity:

The negroes ran to greet our boats as we landed to take possession of the fort, and among those found on the shore by our marines were several belonging to Gen. Drayton, commander of the Post, whose plantation on Hilton Head Island was well stocked with fellows of the genuine ebony cast. Two of them were taken on board of the Wabash and gave much interesting and reliable information in regard to the situation of affairs on the island.

One of them asserted that his master had that morning assured him that he might fall into other hands before night, and he seemed to have been sufficiently pleased with the prospect of a change of masters to get his little bundle ready to be taken off.

THE NEGROES TRADING.

Early in the morning after the victory, the plantation negroes began to come into camp, and with the genuine African instinct for trade, each had provided themselves with a turkey, a shoulder of bacon, or two shoulders and a brace of hams in the shape of a struggling porker, which he bore kicking and squealing under his arm. It was amusing to see the pertinacity with which the fellows would cling to their prize, even while waiting to be questioned under guard of a file of soldiers.

The instant one was spoken to, the bit of wide-awake or the rimless crown of straw which did duty as a hat would be jerked off with characteristic obsequiousness, the negro stand scraping and bowing, answering meanwhile his catechism, as well as he could with the noisy and struggling beast distracting his attention.

Several who came in brought wagons loaded with knapsacks and other accoutrements which they had picked up on the way. All seemed ready to work, and those who were fortunate enough to have possessed themselves of some stray horse or a pair of plantation mules found abundant occupation.

THEY ARE CARED FOR.

As our troops were at first too busy in making good their position to attend to anything else, and the Quartermasters had already more upon their hands than they could well attend to, the negroes who appeared were not encouraged to remain but were at once sent back, on one pretence and an-

other to take care of themselves. But by the morning of the second day fifty were already gathered at headquarters, and signs of a much greater influx were abundant.

Those who remained were put under the charge of Captain Goodrich, the Quartermaster of Gen. Wright's brigade, who saw that their wants were well attended to, giving up an old building to their accommodation.

Our troops were accompanied in their first reconnaissance into the island by Dr. J. J. Craven, the efficient surgeon of the 3d brigade, who reports the negroes on the plantations further inland as almost wild with delight at the advent of our troops and the hasty flight of their masters, which they described with the utmost gusto.

THE DAY OF DELIVERANCE.

"O Lord! massa," said one, "we're so glad to see you. We've prayed and prayed the good Lord that he would send you Yankees, and we knowed you're was coming."

"How could you know that?" asked Dr. Craven. "You can't read the papers; how did you get the news?"

"No, massa, we can't read, but we can listen. Massa and missus used to read, and sometimes they would read loud, and then we would listen so"—making an expressive gesture indicative of close attention at the key-hole—"when I see would get a chance I see would list'n, and Jim, him would list'n, and we put the bits together, and we know'd the Yankees were coming. Bless the Lord, massa."

CONVERSATION WITH THE CONTRABANDS.

Another stout fellow asserted that the good Lord had approached to him in the shape of a "Yankee," who assured him that the hour of deliverance was at hand.

The poor, trusting creatures never seemed to question that a war which they had heard was all about them must mean their deliverance from a bondage with which they do not seem to have been sufficiently in love to follow the fortunes of their fleeing masters.

A driver's whip which was picked up, and which the correspondent of the Evening Post now has in his possession, was shown one of them, and he was asked if he knew what it was.

"Golly, massa!" said the negro, with a suspicious, sidelong look at the familiar whip he saw raised aloft, "Guess this rigger knows what dat dere is," and he proceeded to explain the use to which it was applied.

When some doubt was expressed as to the negroes' statements in regard to numbers, one of them answered:

"We can't read, but we can count."

"How did you learn to count?"

"Picking cotton, massa. We're all got to count when we pick cotton, massa."

There seems to be abundant work for them in picking cotton on Hilton Head Island, which our troops have occupied, and it is hoped that their services will be in some way turned to account for this purpose.

Acres of it, already white for the harvest, were found within less than a mile of Fort Walker, and will be lost unless speedily attended to.

Several buildings filled with unginned cotton were also found further back toward Skull Creek, and on the island beyond that stream similar deposits could be seen. A heavy smoke which was seen at a distance the negroes reported to come from a lot of cotton which had been fired by the retreating rebels.

For some reason the negroes appeared at first inclined to wait until they were called for before making their appearance, but the few who were dismissed on the first day spread the report that the Yankees were indeed at hand, and the next morning a number came in from the mainland, where their masters had retreated, making their escape at night in a canoe. The reports must have spread as far up as Beaufort in an astonishingly short space of time, for when our boats went up there the negroes were ready to greet them.

By that singular sort of freemasonry which seems to be established among the negroes the report will speedily spread from one end of the South to the other, and before the snows of December shall have whitened the plains of the North, even in distant Texas the story of our appearance will have traveled distorted by a thousand exaggerations, to excite the eager hopes of those who

are watching and waiting so patiently for the deliverance which is so near at hand.

The correspondent of the N. Y. World writes:

As soon as the negro slaves observed us coming on shore they flocked along the banks in great numbers, some bearing parcels and bundles, as if expecting us to take them at once to a home of freedom. Every variety of negro and slave was represented. I say negro AND slave, for it is a melancholy fact that some slaves are apparently as white as their masters, and as intelligent. Darkies of genuine Congo physiques, and darkies of the genuine Uncle Tom pattern, darkies young and jubilant, darkies middle-aged, and eager, and gray-haired, solemn-looking fellows. Some appeared mystified, and some intelligent. The quadroon and the octoroon, possessing an unmistakable tint of negro blood, mingled one drop with seven of Southern nativity and ancient family, formed, to speak mildly, an interesting scene.

As fast as the contraband article came within reach, it was placed in the guard-house. An old frame building behind Fort Walker.—Here quite a collection was made. They were huddling together, half in fear and half in hope, when a naval officer of the *Bienville* looked in upon them, asking, "Well, well, what are you all about?"

"Dat's jest what we'd like to find out, mas'r," was the response.

The officer assured them that they would be kindly taken care of, and perhaps found something to do, and need not be alarmed.

"Tank God for dat, mas'r," was the reply. On drawing them into conversation, they said that they caught a great deal of fish in Port Royal harbor, fishing at night, after the plantation work was over. Two slaves were found reconnoitering about on their own account, and on being brought into camp, explained that they belonged to Mrs. Pinckney, of Charleston, and came down to "see what de white people were all about." They said that the white people all ran away when the ships came up, crying, "Great God! Great God! Great God! the Yankees are coming; fire the boats." Other slaves reported that "when the white folks see the little boats coming up, dey laffed at them, but when dey see de big checker-sided vessels coming, they laffed on de oder side der moufs."

The number of slaves will probably increase each day, and the importance of their aid must be great.

A VISIT TO A PLANTATION.

The Herald's correspondent gives the following account of a visit he made to the plantation of Gen. Drayton, the rebel commander, situated near Hilton Head:

After passing along the road through numerous cotton fields (Sea Island) and strips of timber which bordered on the bayons, we came to a broad avenue, shaded by live oak, sycamore, orange and China trees; on either side were rows of white-washed cabins, at nearly every door of which were groups of negroes, all looking with eager curiosity at the white strangers, but evincing nothing like fear; on the contrary, they were much disposed to give full accounts of all that had happened in the brief but eventful period that gave them a new set of masters; how the shell flew fast and thick; how they burst around them, luckily doing no damage to anyone or anything, excepting an unfortunate outhouse. A little farther on we approached what had once been a large and carefully tended garden, in the midst of which, on a slight elevation, facing, and in full view of the harbor, stood the mansion. It is a large, time-honored building, constructed after the usual style of the South, of two stories and an attic, a wide piazza in front and rear, a wide hall running through the building, with large airy rooms on either side.

It appears that Gen. Drayton had not lived here for some time past, and that the plantation had been under the direction solely of an overseer. Gen. Drayton has another plantation on the mainland, where his family resided.

There was, consequently, but little or no furniture in the house; everything, however, had been pretty well overhauled, and the debris of household articles scattered around gave very much the appearance of a house, after the turmoil of a May day, in New York.

The negro driver, a tall ebony and quite intelligent, said that in the days of the old lady, Mrs. Pope, the mother-in-law of General Drayton, things were kept up in style, but that since her death everything had pretty much gone to rack. It needed but a little fancy to imagine the mansion and its grounds under the regime of its once palmy days—the mistress dispensing hospitality in true old Carolina style to coming or departing guests—steeds prancing at the doorway under care of bright-eyed little woolly heads—the gardens blooming with gorgeous flowers—the trim gravelled walks nicely kept, the lofty trees (still remaining) affording a grateful retreat to fair damsels and gay cavaliers, under the shade of their foliage.

The plantation consists of some three or four hundred acres, and well adapted to the raising of crops that require a light soil. As the crops have only been about half gathered, Capt. Hudson has obtained permission from headquarters to take charge of the place and set the hands to work to gather in the rest.—This will secure a large quantity of corn and sweet potatoes, besides about fifty bags of Sea Island cotton. There is a gin on the place, steam engine, &c., so that you may not be surprised to hear of an invoice sent on to New York from the first cotton port opened during the days of the great rebellion.

The Times' correspondent says:

Before I left Hilton Head, I saw as many as one hundred negroes, who had come into our camps, and they were constantly arriving. At Bay Point I was informed there were as many more. As soon as they made their appearance they were huddled into a dilapidated building which was strongly guarded. All ages were represented, but only the male sex. Until I saw and conversed with the greater number of these persons I believed that the appearance and intelligence of Southern field hands were greatly libelled by the delineators of negro character at the concert saloons. Now I cannot but acknowledge that instead of gross exaggerations the "minstrels" give representations which are faithful to nature.

There were the same grotesque dresses, awkward figures, and immense brogans which are to be seen every night at Bryant's or Christy's. Some of them told me that they had heard the "Yankees" were coming down to set them free, as early as last July, and they appeared very happy at their prospects. One old man said he was willing to work at anything "Massa Yankees" gave him to do, but he never would go back to "dat ar rice fiel agin." I asked him to whom he belonged. He replied that he once belonged to the widow Pinckney, who had four hundred "head o' niggers," but he was free now. The chief anxiety of most of them was to get their families to join them. There was no difficulty in learning from these people that our arrival had been anxiously looked for with pleasant anticipations.

SLAVERY IN DELAWARE.—The Wilmington (Del.) State Journal, after referring to the movement in Maryland to abolish slavery, asks the following questions:

"People of Delaware, how much longer will you be content to linger in the deadly shadow which slavery throws athwart your path to greatness and prosperity? How much longer will you permit the barbarous relic to hang like a millstone about your necks to drag you down to shame and reproach, when a single blow would hurl it from your presence, and raise our noble little State up to an equality of power and influence with her free sisters of the North?"

Arrangements are being made by the friends of freedom in Washington, for a course of lectures in that city during the approaching winter, and that among those invited to lecture are Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips, George W. Curtis and Dr. Cheever.

FREE SPEECH MAINTAINED IN SYRACUSE.

The Editor of this paper was advertised to lecture in Syracuse on Thursday and Friday evenings, Nov. 14th and 15th. On Thursday morning a flaring document in the form of a handbill was conspicuously posted about the city, which read as follows:

'NIGGER FRED COMING.

'This reviler of the Constitution, and author of "DEATH IN THE POT!" and who once in this city called George Washington a Thief! Rascal!! and Traitor!!! is advertised to lecture on "Slavery" again on Thursday and Friday evenings of this week at Wieting Hall!!!

'Shall his vile sentiments again be tolerated in this community by a constitutional-liberty-loving people? or shall we give him a warm reception at this time, for his insolence, as he deserves? Rally, then, one and all, and drive him from our city! Down on the arch-fugitive to Europe, who is not only a coward but a traitor to his country! RALLY, FREEMEN! Admission ten cents!'

The *Journal* of that city, on the same day of the lecture, says:

Whoever the authors are, the object of the handbill is clearly to disturb the public peace, by creating a mob that shall, in abridging the right of free speech, disgrace and dishonor our city. Mr. Douglass proposes to speak at Wieting Hall this evening on the subject of 'The Rebellion, its Cause and Remedy.' He has delivered this lecture in many of the cities and towns of the North this season, and nowhere has he been interrupted or disturbed. Will not the community that has patiently and respectfully listened to Yancey, give Mr. Douglass a fair and manly hearing?

The authorities are resolved that the peace and honor of the city shall be maintained.—Mayor Andrews has made preparations to carry out this determination, and it is the duty, as it should be the pleasure, of all good citizens to uphold the authorities. In addition to the regular police, a force of special policemen has been appointed for the occasion. Major Brown has volunteered the services of the troops in Camp Munroe, if they should be needed, to suppress any attempt to break the peace. The Sheriff of the county joins in the preparations to preserve order and quiet, and no efforts will be wanting to accomplish this end, should there be any disposition manifested to transgress the laws.

THE LECTURE.

The same paper thus speaks of the lecture on Thursday evening:

An audience of about eight hundred persons listened to the lecture of Frederick Douglass, at Wieting Hall, last evening. The lecture was for the most part an examination of the bearings of the institution of slavery upon the present National troubles—the speaker holding that slavery alone was the cause, and that in the extinction of it was to be found the certain, speedy and economical suppression of the Rebellion. The slaves, it was contended, may be made the most potent power against the rebels, and that it is both wise and right to employ them. He urged as the great necessity to the successful prosecution of the war, that instant emancipation of bondmen be proclaimed wherever the United States armies may be employed. The war, in his opinion, is to be a war of abolition, and no attempt of the Government or of Generals to evade the issue could be successful—for if the people of the North have not sufficient virtue to make the issue, the villainy of the South will compel them to it. The lecture was in the characteristic style of Mr. Douglass—an hour and a half's discussion of the moral and political relations of slavery considered in connection with the war. His allusion to Fremont's proclamation, as the keynote to the suppression of the rebellion, was heartily endorsed by the audience.

Mr. Douglass took occasion to deny the allegations of the authors of the incendiary

handbill, that he was a reviler of the Constitution and a libeller of the memory of Washington. He said that he has for more than ten years been an advocate of the anti-slavery character of the Constitution, and that he had never spoken of Washington except with respect.

At the close, Gerrit Smith was called out, and in a few words paid a high compliment to the speaker of the evening, who twenty years ago was an ignorant bondman, and now is one of the foremost orators in the land.

There was no attempt at interruption or disturbance of the evening. This was owing to the thorough precautions taken by Mayor Andrews, in conjunction with Sheriff Maynard and Chief Mulholland. The regular police were supported by about seventy special policemen. The Munroe Cadets, forty-five muskets, each man provided with twenty-four ball cartridges, in response to the Mayor's requisition, were present and guarded the hall and the entrance ways. There was one boy, about ten years old, arrested by an officer, in the hall, during the lecture, for having an egg and several stones in his possession; he stated that they were given to him by some men, and disclaiming any intention of using them offensively, he was released. From six o'clock until after the lecture began, there was a considerable gathering of people in front of the Wieting Block, but they seemed to have gone there out of curiosity alone.

The authorities had positive information of the existence of an elaborate plan, having for its object the preventing of the lecture, and the breaking up of the meeting, and the carrying out of this intention was only defeated by the promptness and efficiency of the measures taken by Mayor Andrews and the officers co-operating with him to preserve the peace. To these measures alone, are our citizens indebted for the defeat of this conspiracy of the clan of rebel sympathizers in our midst, who designed to override the right of free speech and dishonor our city by another disgraceful exhibition of mob violence. We are glad that we have a Mayor who knows his duty, and dares to discharge it. He has established a precedent that shall henceforth guarantee the right of free speech to all men who desire to exercise it here.

The *Standard* says:

Mr. Douglass delivered his address at Wieting Hall last evening, according to appointment, and without being disturbed. Not even a hiss was heard during the hour he occupied the platform, but he was frequently applauded in the course of his able and eloquent remarks.

But is it not disgraceful to our city, that when slavery is clutching at the throat of the nation, threatening to tear the Republic limb from limb, that a man cannot speak his mind here concerning the institution without the protection of armed soldiers? Had not the city authorities taken effectual means to prevent the mobbing of Mr. Douglass, he would without doubt have been assailed by violent hands and driven from the city.

The *State League*, edited by T. L. Carson, says:

Though we rejoice at this triumph of right over lawless disorder, blasphemy and obscenity, we confess that we feel mortified and ashamed that there are beings in the shape of men who deem human slavery such a sacred and holy thing that it cannot be discussed in our city without a band of armed men to protect the speaker from personal violence and injury, and that, too, at a time when the accursed institution has as it were our nation by the throat, and threatening to tear it limb from limb. Yet such is the humiliating fact. Such efforts to abridge the freedom of speech show most clearly the necessity for such discussions; and as Mr. Douglass truly remarked, 'the proper time to speak is when the right to speak is denied. The time to assert a right is when the whip of the tyrant is cracking over our heads.'

Mr. Douglass' first lecture on 'The Rebellion—its Cause and Cure,' was, we hardly

need to say, a most able production, timely, truthful, outspoken. He was cheered by a large and highly respectable audience, composed of our most respectable citizens, and owing to the admirable and timely care of our noble Mayor, not a dog dared to move his tongue, nor was there even a hiss heard from any slinking viper throughout the large and well filled hall.

His lecture on Friday evening was entitled 'Life Pictures.' It was well written, and in common language, a good lecture. But Mr. Douglass' forte is extemporaneous speaking from the inspiration of the moment. Here he is peerless.

CONVICTION OF A SLAVE-TRADER.—Every good citizen has occasion for rejoicing in the fact that one Nathaniel Gordon has been convicted of Piracy in the United States District Court in the city of New York—the piracy consisting in having fitted out a slaver and shipped 900 Africans at Congo River, with a view to selling them as slaves. The same man had been tried for the same offence before; but the jury failed to agree, and he accordingly escaped punishment for the time. Now, however, he has been convicted; and it is to be hoped no technical quiddities nor mawkish sympathies will save him from the extreme penalty of the law. The laws of the United States make the African slave trade piracy, and punish it with death. And if but one crime should be punished with death, surely the one under consideration ought to enjoy that bad eminence. The horrors of the African slave trade defy all powers of description, and every man who voluntarily embarks in it is a moral monster, who should be treated as an outlaw by every civilized people. We trust there is a sufficiently wholesome and active moral sense in this country to frown down any and all efforts to procure a mitigation of the sentence of death which Judge Nelson will in due time pronounce upon this great criminal. President Lincoln has utterly refused to interfere, and the sentence will, no doubt, be carried into execution. We need an example of this kind; and if the culprit be a 'gentleman' and a man of means, the effect of his execution will be all the more salutary.

Gordon will be hung on the 7th day of February next.

SIGNS OF BARBARISM.—The New York Post not long since published an account of the distribution of the skin of Old John Brown's son throughout the South, to be kept by the chivalry as relics. The statement was made by one of the highest officers serving in our army in Western Virginia, in a letter to that paper, a piece of the skin being enclosed in the letter. The following from the Norfolk Day Book, under the heading 'Putting Dead Yankees to a New Use,' is in further corroboration of the fact that the slaveholding States are fast drifting into barbarism:

'We have recently seen some candles which, we were told, had been made from tallow and fat fried from dead Yankees, who had been slain in several of the battles which have taken place between them and the Southerners.'

Left to themselves, the Southerners would wholly barbarize under the influences of slavery, and it is to their connection with the superior civilization of the North that they owe what moral and social progress they have made.

An intelligent lady who has recently arrived at Exeter, N. H., from North Carolina, says:

The slaves generally in North Carolina sympathize with the North, and improve every opportunity to run away from their masters. A slight insurrection recently occurred near Lexington, in which three negroes were shot. The masters tell their slaves that on reaching Fortress Monroe they are either sold to Cubans or have their hands cut off; but the majority disbelieve such fabrications, and 'look away' to Butler for deliverance.'

REMOVAL OF GENERAL FREMONT.

As was expected, Gen. Fremont has at last been removed, and Gen. Halleck has been appointed to take his place. A correspondent with the army writes as follows how the news of his removal was received by the army under his command:

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., Nov. 3.

Yesterday small bodies of the enemy came within twelve miles of us, and news was received of the approach of their advance, 2800 strong. Preparations were being made to go out and attack them, when Gen. Fremont received an unconditional order from Washington relieving him at once from his command. Simultaneously came the newspapers announcing the fact. The intelligence spread like wildfire through the camp, and created indescribable indignation and excitement. Great numbers of the officers signified their intention of resigning at once, and many companies laid down their arms, declaring that they would fight under no one but Gen. Fremont. Gen. Fremont spent much of the time expostulating with the officers and men, urging them by their patriotism and by their personal regard for him not to abandon their posts. He also addressed the following farewell order to the troops:

'SOLDIERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI ARMY:— Agreeably to orders received this day, I take leave of you. Although our army has been of sudden growth, we have grown up together, and I have become familiar with the brave and generous spirits which you bring to the defence of your country, and which make me anticipate for you a brilliant career. Continue as you have begun, and give to my successor the same cordial and enthusiastic support with which you have encouraged me. Emulate the splendid example which you have already before you, and let me remain as I am, proud of the noble army I have thus far labored to bring together.

'Soldiers, I regret to leave you, most sincerely. I thank you for the regard and confidence you have invariably shown me. I deeply regret that I shall not have the honor to lead you to the victory which you are just about to win; but I shall claim the right to share with you in the joy of every triumph, and trust always to be personally remembered by my companions in arms.

'JOHN C. FREMONT, Maj.-General.'

The feeling ran intensely high during the whole of last evening, and there were meetings almost everywhere. The various bands serenaded the General, and whenever he appeared he was greeted with cheers. Altho' after notifying General Hunter, as his order directed, he had no longer command over the troops, he spent several hours in making a personal examination of the ground about the city, to be prepared for a battle, and in accordance with a written request from all the Brigadier Generals here, he remained through the night, to lead the army in case of an attack. All of the troops slept on their arms, and many officers remained up all night. An attack was hourly expected, but nothing more occurred than the firing on our pickets in two different roads. The enemy are now encamped on the old Wilson Creek battleground.

Gen. Fremont is prepared to leave for St. Louis, and will go as soon as Gen. Pope arrives, who has been sent forward and will take command until Gen. Hunter gets here. Universal gloom prevails throughout the camps. A battle will undoubtedly occur ere long. Our troops will meet the enemy firmly, but they are disheartened and have lost their enthusiasm. The body guard, who would not be induced to remain, will now disband, as the terms of their enlistment permit, and will accompany the General. Gen. Fremont will permit no demonstration from the troops on his departure.

HIS RECEPTION IN ST. LOUIS.

The reception of Gen. Fremont, his Staff and Body-guard, in St. Louis, on the evening

of the 8th November, after being relieved of his command, was a perfect ovation. They had met with the most enthusiastic salutations along the entire route from Springfield to St. Louis, and on reaching the city they found one of the largest assemblages gathered to greet them ever witnessed there. Gen. Fremont immediately proceeded to his headquarters, and soon after a procession bearing torches, headed by music and surrounded by an immense concourse of citizens, was put in motion. Arriving at the headquarters, the members of the Committee appointed to deliver an address to Gen. Fremont detached themselves from the procession to perform the duty assigned them. As they entered the mansion, they were ushered into one of the large front rooms, and directly after the General made his appearance. Mr. J. C. Vogel then, as Chairman of the Committee, stepped forward and read the following

ADDRESS.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. FREMONT—SIR: We are instructed by the citizens of St. Louis to welcome you to our city, and perform the duty imposed upon us with mingled feelings of sorrow and pleasure. While we deeply regret the occasion of your presence among us, we rejoice in the unmistakable manifestation of the unflagging sympathy of the people. They have witnessed with astonishment and indignation the event, unprecedented in history, of your removal from the command, while in active pursuit of the enemy, and on the very eve of reaping the fruits of your incessant and successful labors. The true causes which led to your recall are well understood and appreciated. You have risen too fast in popular favor. The policy announced in your proclamation, although hailed by the people as a political and military necessity, furnished your ambitious rivals and enemies with a welcome weapon for your intended destruction.

The harbingers of truth will ever be crucified by the Pharisees.

We cannot be deceived by shallow and flimsy pretexts, by unfounded and slanderous reports.

We entertain no doubt of your ability to speedily confound and silence your traducers. The day of reckoning is not far distant, and the people will take care that the schemes of your opponents shall in the end be signally defeated.

As loyal citizens, we follow your example in yielding due obedience to the edicts of the powers that be.

With you we join in the hope that the enthusiasm with which you have imbued the army created by, and devoted to you, may lead them to victory, even in the absence of their legitimate leader. Should we meet with reverses, no fault will be charged upon you; should victory perch on our banners, the wreath of triumph will be placed on your brow by the verdict of the country.

Permit us to assure you that when the smoke of battle shall have passed away, and peace shall be restored to us, an appeal to the people from the action of its servants will be triumphantly sustained.

In pursuance of our instructions, we take pleasure in presenting to you a copy of resolutions unanimously adopted by the citizens of St. Louis, in mass meeting assembled.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

We, the citizens of St. Louis, of German extraction, in mass meeting assembled to give expression of our sentiments towards Major-General John C. Fremont, have solemnly and unanimously resolved:

1. That we recognize in John C. Fremont the embodiment of our patriotic feeling and political faith.

2. That, notwithstanding many paralyzing circumstances, he has performed his arduous and responsible task with all possible energy and honesty.

3. That we admire his impartiality and sagacity in his military counselors, without national prejudices, from among such men as he considered true and worthy of his confidence.

4. That we will stand by him as long as he shall prove true to himself.

5. That while we submit to the action of the Government, as behooves loyal citizens, we regret to be deprived at the present moment of his services in conquering the rebel army, and believe we recognize in this event a wise Providence which may have reserved him for a still wider sphere of action in future times.

Gen. Fremont, during the reading of the address and resolutions, apparently found it difficult to restrain his emotions, and when he first commenced to respond his voice was quite tremulous. His response was as follows:

GENTLEMEN:—I wish to say to you that your kind and affectionate—I may even say affectionate—reception of me moves my heart. It cheers me and strengthens my confidence—my confidence, already somewhat wavering—in our republican institutions. I felt all day as we passed through the country—I feel emphatically to-night—that the faithful servant of the people, honestly laboring in the public cause, will not be allowed to suffer undeserved, and I feel stronger.

Since I left you a few weeks ago, many accusations have been rained on my defenceless head—defenceless, because my face was turned to the public enemy. What I see and hear to-night, the address you have just read to me, and the approving multitude below, show me that I was not wrong in leaving my defence with you. In regard to the baser charges made against me, I will say nothing now. You do not require it, and to speak of them would jar upon the generous feelings with which you come here to-night. Others have been already answered by my brave soldiers at Springfield; and others, of gross incompetency and a weak and aimless administration, to all of these I will adopt your address and the shouts of the grand multitude assembled below as my answer. And for all this, gentlemen, to you and to them, I renew my thanks with all my heart, which, to-night, is roused to full sensibility by the healthy and unqualified expression of your confidence and approbation so valuable and grateful to me in my social position. I shall soon have occasion, for I shall make occasion to answer all these charges more definitely. Until then, I will rely upon this evening for my defence.

After the General had delivered the above response, the Committee gathered about him, and he shook hands with each member thereof in the most cordial manner.

In the mean time, the crowd outside had begun to grow impatient, and in obedience to the tumultuous cries of the multitude, the General presented himself upon the portico. His appearance was the signal for a tremendous outburst of applause, which he acknowledged by bowing.

The high wind which prevailed rendered it impossible for him to address the crowd, and there was no very urgent demand for him to do so. Indeed, all the crowd seemed to desire was to obtain a glimpse of their favorite, and nearly every body was gratified in this respect. A blazing torch was held near him, so that his features could be distinctly discerned by the crowd, and as he gazed upon the sea of upturned faces, and comprehended the vastness thereof, and as he saw the enthusiasm which was everywhere manifested, his keen, piercing black eyes seemed to give utterance to the heartfelt gratitude which the ovation seemed to awaken in his breast.—Turning to a gentleman standing near by, he remarked:

'I take this as a record of my administration. This is, perhaps, but a page of the work, but it says a great deal, and, with the illuminated binding which is here offered, I may well be proud of the work itself.'

When he was informed that the demonstration was gotten up almost in a few hours, and that not until the previous evening had it been publicly talked of, he seemed surprised, and replied that he could hardly have anticipated such a generous welcome upon so short a notice.

The General passed through this city last week on his way to New York.

SPEECH OF GENERAL JIM LANE.

The following speech was delivered by Gen. JIM LANE, U. S. Senator from Kansas, in the camp at Springfield, Mo., in response to a visit and serenade from the 24th Indiana Regiment, on the evening of October 31st :

GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS:—The reception of this compliment was as far from my expectations as from my deserts. I am aware that these demonstrations are not intended so much for me as for the Kansas Brigade; yet I should be the first to appreciate and acknowledge any honors which come from the noble State of Indiana. Can I forget Indiana? Never! (Cheers.) 'If I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning.' It was the place of my birth, and is the place of my mother's grave. Indiana has given me Legislative, Executive, Military and Congressional honors; she has nursed me as a good mother brings up her child; and let my heart grow cold, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I cease to be grateful or fail to speak well of my benefactors. (Cheers.) But the home of my adoption, toils and strife, is Kansas. She was a prairie waste when first I set foot upon her soil, but through desperate odds she has fought her way up into the sisterhood of States, and already her little army has become famous throughout the nation for its bravery and patriotism. For Kansas I have wrestled as the mother when she brings forth her first born. (Cheers.) Indiana as a part of the past is enshrined in my heart. Kansas, as the living present, absorbs my thoughts and sways my destiny. Once I obeyed the voice of Indiana, and honored her; now I go at the bidding of Kansas, and love her. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, I am proud and happy to see the two sisters of our glorious Union striking hands with each other on the soil of rebellious Missouri, determined that our united blows shall crush out this most wicked and causeless rebellion, and preserve the national heritage left us by our fathers.

Gentlemen, I shall not conceal the fact that in one respect I differ from some of my comrades in command, as to the mode of warfare which is best calculated to bring this wretched contest to a speedy, durable and honorable close. The point of difference refers, of course, to slavery—the cause of all differences—the Pandora's box from which have issued all our national troubles. My creed is, *Let slavery take care of itself.* (Cheers.) If it can survive the shock of war, let it live, but if between an upper and nether mill stone it be ground to powder, and the winds drive it away, it is not for me to gather up the dust again. I do not propose to make war upon slavery, but upon rebels, and in the meantime to let slaves and slavery take care of themselves. An oligarchy more cruel and proscriptive than ever scourged and cursed a nation, ancient or modern, has brought on this war for slavery; and if we are required to protect, or in any way help slavery, then we are required to co-operate with the enemy, to help him, to defend him, and work for the same end. Can we place ourselves thus in alliance with our deadly and barbarous foes and, at the same time, conquer them, subdue them, crush them? When lesser contradictions are reconciled, we will think of harmonizing this. War, at least, is a terrible calamity to a nation. In all the country through which we have passed mails are stopped, schools are suspended, churches are turned into hospitals for the sick and wounded, and general demoralization prevails. Protract the war one year, and desolation, moral and material alone would mark the track of armies. Justice, humanity and mercy require that the conflict should be terminated as soon as possible with the least practicable shedding of blood. Astonishing as it may seem to you, gentlemen from Indiana, it is a fact we have repeatedly demonstrated, that a heavier blow is dealt to the realm of Secession in the abduction or freedom of a slave than in the killing of a soldier in arms. Yes, and I may

put the truth in a still stronger light: abduct from the same family a slave, and kill a son in arms, and the loss of the slave will be regarded as the greater misfortune—the calamity for which there is no healing balm. I could bring up more than a thousand witnesses, whose observation and experience qualify them to speak of the truthful candor of my remarks. If, then, by allowing a slave to fall into the wake of the army and find the priceless boon of freedom, we avoid bloodshed, save property from destruction, and strike death dealing blows upon the head and front of this rebellion, does not ever good and just consideration require that this policy be adopted? This war is for slavery; let us make it the mighty engine for slavery's destruction, and the rebels will soon cry 'enough.' (Cheers.) They will see that, like Saturn in the fable, they are eating their own children, and will consent to cut short the repast. Every guaranty that is given to slavery by the Government strengthens the rebels in their course.

The Kansas Brigade has met the enemy in battle, and routed him in every conflict. We have destroyed Osceola—a sort of half town and half military post—but all these things combined have not brought the rebels so quickly to their knees as the escaping of a few hundred slaves by following the back track of the army. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, my logic teaches that we cannot defend and make war upon the same foe at the same time; and if it is the purpose of the Government to crush the rebels and prevent their slaves from stampeding, two armies should be sent into the field. The advance force might be called the treason-crushing army, and should be furnished with offensive weapons. The other should be called the slavery-restoring army, and should move about ten miles in the rear. It should be clad in defensive armor of tripple steel; for such is the meanness of spirit which is bred in the hearts of men by slave-breeding, slave-trading and slaveholding that the masters would creep into every place of ambush and fire upon those who were gathering up and returning their fugitive human property. It would be illegitimate for the slavery-restoring army to return the fire, as they might harm some of the pets and darlings for whom they were so generously acting. (Laughter.)—Therefore, give them the defensive armor, but no offensive weapons. Such an arrangement, novel as it might seem, must be had if slavery is to be preserved in the rear of an army, which moves with a force sufficient to crush this huge rebellion. In my opinion the second army should be as numerous as the first. Preserving slavery will cost the Government ten times as much as crushing the rebellion.

The policy inaugurated by the Kansas Brigade, which I have the honor to command, was not adopted in a moment, but is the result of much experience. In a speech, recently made in the city of Leavenworth, my feelings of indignation became wrought up to such a high pitch that I was betrayed into the use of language which was justly condemned by the religious sentiment of the country, and which, in my cooler moments, meets my earnest disapproval. But whether excited or calm, whether my language is rough or smooth, principle and duty require that our policy be rigidly adhered to until condemned by the Government; and if it should be condemned—if the Government demand of the Brigade obedience to the behests of slavery—I shall consider the question of withdrawing from the field.

Since the rebels have failed to nationalize slavery, their battle cry is: 'Down with the Union!' Let slavery lift its crest in the air, and here I solemnly vow that, if Jim Lane is compelled to add a note to such an infernal chorus, he breaks his sword and quits the field. Let us be bold; inscribe 'Freedom to All' upon our banners, and appear just what we are—the opponents of slavery. It is certain, as if written in the book of fate, that this point must be reached before the war is over. Take this stand, and enthusiasm will

be inspired in the ranks. In steadiness of purpose and courage, each soldier will be a Spartan hero. The spirit of the Crusader will be united with the iron will of the Roman, and an army of such soldiers is invincible. (Cheers.) These things to you, Indians, may appear strange; but when your military education has received that peculiar cast which experience is sure to give it, and which now pertains to the Kansas soldier, then will we march shoulder to shoulder, and victoriously, too, against the enslavers and brutalizers of men—against the traitors to the best Government in the world.

Soldiers! we have a commander in whose skill, courage and kindness of heart we may always confide. General Hunter has a Kansas education; he has suffered with us because of slavery, and he will, I know, indorse the policy I have advocated to-night.

It should be the business of Congress, at its coming session, to pass a law directing the President of the United States, by proclamation, to order the rebel States, within thirty days or sixty days, to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance; or, in default thereof, declare every slave free throughout their domains. So far as I am concerned, I hope the Almighty will so direct the hearts of the rebels that, like Pharaoh, they will persist in their crime; and then we will invade them and strike the shackles from every limb.—Provision, too, should be made for settling the Africans in Hayti, Central or South America, and let the race form a nation by itself. Liberia has served a glorious purpose, in teaching the world that these oppressed and wretched people are capable of supporting themselves and of self-government. I look upon the Republic of Liberia as the bud—yes, the full-blown hope of the whole of Africa. I wish it every encouragement and success. But it is too many thousand miles for us to transport four million slaves. This fast age has not the time and patience requisite to such a task. But our own continent has room sufficient, with soil, climate and productions suitable for the accommodation of this people who, in the mysteries of Providence, are thrown among us. Transportation to the places named may be made a practicable reality. The good of both races require their separation. Ages of oppression, ignorance and wrong have made the African a being inferior in intellect and social attainments to the Caucasian; while together we shall always have low cringing servility on the one hand, and lordly domination on the other. It is better for both that each enjoy the honors and responsibilities of a nationality of its own. In such an event our common humanity would make a vast stride toward perfection.—As such a proclamation might have the effect to liberate the slaves of many loyal citizens, I would cheerfully give my consent to have them paid out of the National treasury for any loss they might sustain. Let us dare to do right, trusting to the principle that right makes might; and the Great Republic, once the wonder of the world, will emerge from these troubles purer, wealthier and stronger than ever. These are among the reasons why 'Freedom to All' is the watchword of the Kansas Brigade. Would to God I could publish it throughout the army and to the whole nation! Let the wind waft it over the prairies of the West, let the thunder of our cannon speak it in the ears of traitor tyrants, let the mountains of Pennsylvania, Virginia and New England echo it to their whole people, let the ground swell from earth to heaven, and the great God of angels and men, as its Patron and Friend, will give it success.

Again I thank you, friends of Indiana, and of the Kansas Brigade, for the compliment of this occasion, and bid you all a hearty good-night. (Loud cheering.)

Cheer after cheer then rent the air. The Kansas boys then left for their tents, evidently a little proud of their commander, and the Indians were not in the least inclined to relinquish their birth-right interest in the earnest and eloquent advocate of liberty, Jim Lane.

The President's Message.

We have delayed the publication of our paper several days in order to lay before our readers President LINCOLN'S Annual Message. We print the document as transmitted by telegraph, and there are, no doubt, many material blunders contained in it which could not be avoided, not having a corrected copy to set from.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

In the midst of unprecedented political troubles, we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual health and abundant harvests. You will not be surprised to learn that in the peculiar exigencies of the times our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our domestic affairs. A disloyal portion of the American people have been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union.

The nation which endures factious domestic divisions is exposed to disrespect abroad, and one party or both is sure, sooner or later, to invoke foreign intervention. Nations thus tempted to interfere, are not always able to resist the counsels of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although the measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be un fortunate and injurious to those adopting them. The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad, have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose as the insurgents have seemed to assume that foreign nations in this case discarding all moral and social and treaty obligations would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquisition of cotton, those nations seem as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destruction than through the preservation of the Union. If we could believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a second argument could be made to show them they can reach their view more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion, than by giving encouragement to it. The principal lever relied on by the insurgents for exciting foreign nations to hostilities against us, as already intimated, is the embarrassment of commerce.—Those nations, however, not improbably, saw from the first that it was the Union which made as well our foreign as our domestic commerce. They can scarcely have failed to perceive that the effort for division produces the existing difficulty and that one strong nation promises more durable peace, and more extensive valuable and reliable commerce than can the same nation broken into fragments.

It is not my purpose to review our discussions with foreign States, because whatever might be their wishes or dispositions, the integrity of our country and the stability of our government mainly depend not upon them, but upon the loyalty, virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people.—The correspondence itself, with the usual reservation, is herewith submitted. I venture to hope it will appear that we have practiced prudence and liberality toward foreign powers; averting causes of irritation, and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor. Since, however, it is apparent that here, as in every other State, foreign dangers necessarily attend domestic difficulties, I recommend that adequate and ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defences on every side, while under this general recommendation provision for defending our coast line readily occurs to the mind.

I also, in the same connection, ask attention to our great lakes and rivers. It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms and munitions with harbor and navigation improvements at well selected points upon these, would be of great importance to their natural defence and preservation. I ask attention to the views of the Secretary of War expressed in his report upon the same

general subjects. I deem it of importance that the loyal region of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina be connected with Kentucky and other faithful parts of the Union by railroad. I therefore recommend as a military measure that Congress provide for the construction of such road as speedily as possible. Kentucky will no doubt co operate and through her Legislature make a judicious selection of a line. The northern terminus must connect with our existing railroads, and whether the route shall be from Lexington or Nicholasville to the Cumberland Gap, or from Lebanon to the Tennessee line in the direction of Knoxville, or on some still different line, can easily be determined.

Kentucky and the general Government co-operating, the work can be completed in a very short time, and when done it will be not only of vast present usefulness, but also a valuable permanent improvement, worth its cost in the future.

Some treaties, designed chiefly for the interests of commerce, and having no grave political importance, have been negotiated and will be submitted to the Senate. Although we have failed to induce some of the commercial powers to adopt a desirable melioration of the rigor of maritime war, we have removed all the obstructions from the way of this humane reform except such as are merely of temporary and accidental occurrence.

I invite your attention to the correspondence between Her Britannic Majesty's Minister, accredited to this government, and the Secretary of State, relative to the detention of the British ship *Perthshire*, in June last, by the U. S. steamer *Massachusetts*, for a supposed breach of the blockade. As the detention was occasioned by an obvious misapprehension of facts, as justice requires that we should permit no belligerent act not founded in strict right as sanctioned by public law, I recommend that an appropriation be made to satisfy the reasonable demand of the owners of the vessel, for her detention.

I repeat the recommendation of my predecessor in December last, in regard to the disposition of the surplus which will probably remain after satisfying the claims of American citizens against China, pursuant to the award of Commissioners under the act of 1859. If, however, it should not be deemed advisable to carry that recommendation into effect, I would suggest that authority be given for investing the principal over the proceeds of the surplus referred to in good securities, with a view to the satisfaction of other just claims of our citizens against China, as are not unlikely to arise hereafter in the course of our extensive trade with that empire.

By the act of the 5th of August last, Congress authorized the President to instruct the commanders of suitable vessels to defend themselves against, and to capture pirates.—This authority has been exercised in a single instance only. For the more effectual protection of our extensive and valuable commerce in the Eastern seas especially, it seems to me it would be advisable to authorize commanders of sailing vessels to recapture any prizes which pirates may make of United States vessels and their cargoes, and the consular courts established by law in Eastern countries to adjudicate the cases in the event that this should not be objected to by local authorities.

If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discover it. But unwilling however to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them, without the approbation of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of an appropriation for retaining a charge d'affaires near each of those States. It does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

The operations of the Treasury during the period which has elapsed since you adjourned, have been conducted with signal success. The patriotism of the people has placed at the disposal of the Government the large sum demanded by national exigencies. Much of the national loan has been taken by industrial classes whose faith and zeal for their country's deliverance from its present peril, have induced them to contribute to the support of the gov-

ernment the whole of their limited acquisitions. This fact imposes peculiar obligations to economy in disbursement and energy in action.

The revenue from all sources, including loans for the financial year ending on June 30th, 1861, was \$86,835,900 27, and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of public debt were \$34,578,034 47, leaving a balance in the treasury on the 1st of July of \$2,257,065 80. For the first quarter of the financial year ending September 30th, 1861, the receipts from all sources, including the balance of July 1st from \$102,532,509 27, and the expenses \$98,239,733 09, leaving a balance October 1st 1861 of \$4,292,776 18.

The estimates for the remaining three-fourths of the year and for the financial year of 1862, together with his views of the ways and means for meeting the demands contemplated by them, will be submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury. It is gratifying to know that the expenses made necessary by the rebellion are not beyond the resources of the loyal people, and to believe that the same patriotism which has thus far sustained the government, will continue to sustain it till peace and Union shall again bless the land.

I respectfully refer to the report of the Secretary of War, for information respecting the numerical strength of the army, and for recommendations having in view an increase of its efficiency and the well-being of the various branches of service intrusted to his care. It is gratifying to know that the patriotism of the people has proved equal to the occasion, and that the number of troops tendered greatly exceeds the force which Congress authorized me to call into the field. I refer with pleasure to those portions of his report which make allusion to the creditable degree of discipline already attained by our troops, and to the excellent sanitary condition of the entire army.

The recommendation of the Secretary, for the organization of the militia upon a uniform basis, is a subject of vital importance to the future safety of the country, and is commended to the serious attention of Congress. The large addition to the regular army in connection with the defection that has so considerably diminished the number of its officers, give peculiar importance to his recommendation for increasing the corps of cadets to the greatest capacity of the military academy.

By mere omission I resume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for the hospitals occupied by volunteers. This subject was brought to my notice and introduced to draw up the form of a letter, one copy of which, properly addressed, has been delivered to each of the persons, and at the dates respectively named and stated in a schedule, containing also, the form of the letter, marked A, and herewith transmitted. These gentlemen, I understand, entered upon the duties designated at the time, and respectively stated in the schedule, and have labored faithfully therein ever since. I therefore, recommend that they be compensated at the same rate as chaplains in the regular army. I further suggest that general provision be made for chaplains to serve at hospitals, as well as regiments.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents in detail the operations of that branch of the service, the activity and energy which have characterized its administration, and the results of measures to increase its efficiency and power. Such have been the additions by construction and purchase that it may almost be said a navy has been created and brought into service since our difficulties commenced. Besides blockading our extensive coasts, squadrons larger than ever before assembled under our flag have been put afloat and performed deeds which have increased our naval renown.

I would invite special attention to the recommendation of the Secretary, for a more perfect organization of the navy, by introducing additional grades in the service. The present organization is defective and unsatisfactory, and the suggestions submitted will, it is believed, obviate the difficulties alluded to, and increase the efficiency of the navy.

There are three vacancies on the bench of the Supreme Court—two by the decease of Justices Daniels and McLean, and one by the resignation of Justice Campbell. I have so

far forborne from making nominations, for reasons which I will now state: Two of the outgoing Justices reside in States now overrun by the revolt; so that if successors were appointed in the same localities they could not serve on their circuits, and many of the most competent men there would not take the personal hazard of accepting to serve even here upon the supreme bench. I have been unwilling to throw all the appointments northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South on the return of peace, although I may remark, that to transfer to the North one which has heretofore been in the South, would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust. During the long and brilliant judicial course of Judge McLean, his circuit grew into an empire, and has out-grown our present judicial system. If uniformity was at all intended, the system requires that all the States shall be accommodated with Circuit Courts, attended by Supreme Judges, while although too large for any one Judge to give the courts therein more than a nominal attendance, rising in population from 1,470,000, in 1830, to 6,151,405 in 1860.

In fact, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Florida, Texas, California and Oregon never have had any Circuit Courts, nor can this be remedied without a change in the system because the adding of Judges to the Supreme Court enough for the accommodation of all parts of the country with Circuit Courts, would create a court altogether too numerous for a judicial body of any sort, and the evil of it will be one that will increase as new States come into the Union. Circuit Courts are useful or they are not useful. If useful, no States should be denied them. If not useful, no States should have them. Let them be provided for all, or abolished in all. Three modifications occur to me, which I think would be an improvement on our present system. Let the Supreme Court be of convenient number in every event.

Then first let the whole country be divided into circuits of convenient size: The Supreme Judges to serve in a number corresponding to their own number, and independent Circuit Judges be provided for for all the rest. Or, secondly, let the Supreme Judges be relieved from Circuit duty, and Circuit Judges be provided for all the Circuits; or thirdly, dispense with Circuit Courts, leaving the judicial functions altogether to the District Courts or to the independent Supreme Court.

I respectfully recommend to the attention of Congress the present condition of the statute laws, with the hope that Congress will be able to find an easy remedy for many of the inconveniences and evils which constantly embarrass those engaged in the practical administration of them.

Since the organization of Government, Congress has enacted some 5,000 acts and joint resolutions, which fill more than 6,000 closely printed pages, and are scattered through many volumes. Many of these acts have been drawn in haste and without sufficient caution, so that their provisions are often obscure in themselves, or in conflict with each other, or at least so doubtful as to render it very difficult for even the best informed persons to ascertain what the statute law really is. It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligible as possible, and be reduced to as small a compass as may consist with the fullness and precision of the will of the legislators and the perspicuity of its language.

These well done would I think greatly facilitate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people by placing before them in a more accessible, and intelligible form, the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties. I am informed by some whose opinions I respect, that all the acts of Congress now in force, and of a permanent and general nature, might be revised and rewritten, so as to be embraced in one volume, or at least two volumes of ordinary and convenient size, and I respectfully recommend Congress to consider the subject, and if my suggestion be approved to devise such a plan as in their wisdom shall seem most proper for the attainment of the end proposed.

One of the unavoidable consequences of the present insurrection is the entire suppression

in many places of all ordinary means of administering the civil justice by the officers and in the bounds of the existing law. This is the case in whole or in part, in all the insurgent States, and as our armies advance upon and take possession of parts of those states the practical evil becomes more apparent.—There are no courts nor officers to whom the citizens of other States may apply for the enforcement of their claims against citizens of the insurgent States, and there is a vast amount of debt constituting such claims.

Some have estimated it as high as \$200,000,000, due in large part from insurgents in open rebellion to loyal citizens, who are even now making great sacrifices in the discharge of their patriotic duty to support the Government. Under these circumstances I have been urgently solicited to establish, by military power, Courts to administer summary justice.

In such cases I have thus far decided not to do it, not because I had any doubt that the end proposed, the collection of the debts, was just and right in itself, but because I have been unwilling to go beyond the pressure of necessity, in the unusual exercise of power; but the powers of Congress I suppose are equal to the anomalous occasion, and therefore I refer the whole matter to Congress, with the hope that a plan may be devised for the administration of justice in all such parts of the insurgent States and Territories as may be under control of this Government, whether by voluntary return to allegiance and order or by the power of our arms.—This, however, is not to be a permanent institution, but a temporary substitute, and to cease as soon as the ordinary courts can be re-established in force. It is important that some more convenient means should be provided if possible for the adjustment of claims against the government, especially in view of their increased number by reason of the war. It is as much the duty of the government to render prompt justice against itself in favor of citizens as it is to administer the same between private individuals.

The investigation and adjudication of claims in their nature belong to the judicial department; besides it is apparent that the attention of Congress will be more than usually engaged for some time to come, with great national questions. It was intended by the organization of the Court of Claims, to remove this branch of business from the halls of Congress; but while the Court has proved to be an effective and valuable means of investigation, it in a great degree fails to effect the object of its creation—a want of power to make its judgments final.

Fully aware of the delicacy, not to say the danger of the subject, I commend to your careful consideration, whether the power of making judgments final may not properly be given to the Court, reserving the right of appeal on questions of law to the Supreme Court, with such other provisions as experience may have shown to be necessary.

I ask attention to the report of the Postmaster General, the following being a summary statement of the condition of the department. The revenue from all sources during the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1861, including the annual permanent appropriation of \$700,000 for the transportation of free mail matter, was \$9,049,296.40 being about two per cent less than the revenue for 1860. The expenditures were \$13,606,759.11, showing a decrease of more than eight per cent, as compared with those of the previous year, and leaving an excess of expenditures over the revenue of the last fiscal year of over \$3,557,462.71. The gross revenue for the year ending June 30th, 1863 is estimated at an increase of four per cent on that of 1860, making \$8,683,000 to which should be added the earnings of the department for carrying free mail matter \$700,000, making \$9,383,000. The total expenditures for 1863 are estimated at \$12,528,000, leaving an estimated deficiency of \$3,145,000 to be supplied from the treasury in addition to the permanent appropriation.

The present insurrection shows, I think, that the extension of this District across the Potomac river at the time of establishing the Capitol here, was eminently wise, and consequently that the relinquishment of that portion of it which lies within the State of Virginia, was unwise and dangerous. I submit for your consideration the expediency of re-

gaining that part of the District, and the restoration of the original boundaries thereof, through negotiations with the State of Virginia.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior with the accompanying documents, exhibits the condition of the several branches of the public business pertaining to that department. The depressing influences of the insurrection have been especially felt in the operations of the Patent and General Land Offices. The cash receipts from sales of public lands during the past year, have exceeded the expenses of our land system, only about \$200,000. The sales have been entirely suspended in the Southern States, while the interruption to the business of the country, and the diversion of large numbers of men from labor to military service have obstructed settlements in new States and Territories.

The receipts of the Patent office have declined in nine months about \$9,000, rendering a reduction of the force necessary to make itself sustaining. The demands on the Pension office will be largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions based upon casualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many of those now on the pension roll and in receipt of the bounty of the government are in the ranks of the insurgents or giving them aid and comfort.

The Secretary of the Interior has directed the suspension of payment to such persons on proof of their disloyalty. I recommend that Congress authorize that officer to cause the names of such persons to be stricken from the pension roll.

The relations of the Government with Indian tribes have been greatly disturbed by the insurrection, especially in the Northern Superintendency, and in that of New Mexico. The Indian country south of Kansas is in possession of the insurgents from Texas to Arkansas. The agents of the United States appointed since the 4th of March, for this Superintendency, have been unable to reach their posts; while the most of those who were in office before that time espoused the insurrection cause and assumed to exercise the powers of agents by the virtue of commissions from the insurrectionists.

It has been stated by the public press that a portion of those Indians have been organized as a military force, and are attached to the army of the insurgents. Although the Government has no official information on the subject, letters have been written to the Committee of Indian Affairs, by several Indian Chiefs, giving assurance of their loyalty to the United States, and expressing a wish for the presence of Federal troops to protect them. It is believed that upon the re-possession of the country by the Federal forces, the Indians will cease all hostile demonstrations and resume their former relations to the Government.

Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a depot nor a bureau, but a clerkship only assigned to it in the government. While it is fortunate that no great interest is so independent in its nature as to have demanded and extorted more from the government, I respectfully ask Congress to consider whether something more cannot be given voluntarily with general advantage.

Annual reports exhibiting the condition of our agriculture, commerce and manufactures, would present a fund of information of great practical value to the country. While I make no suggestion as to details, I would venture the opinion that an agricultural and statistical Bureau might properly be organized.

The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade has been confided to the Department of the Interior. It is a subject of congratulation that the efforts which have been made for the suppression of this inhuman traffic have been recently attended with unusual success. Five vessels being fitted out for the slave trade have been seized and condemned. Two masters engaged in the trade and one person engaged in equipping a vessel as a slaver have been subjected to the penalty of fine and imprisonment; and one Captain taken up with a cargo of Africans on board his vessel has been convicted of the highest grade of offence under our laws and been sentenced to death.

The Territories of Colorado, Dacotah and Nevada created by the last Congress, have

been organized, and civil administration has been inaugurated therein under auspices especially gratifying, when it is considered that the heaven of treason was found existing in some of these new countries, when the Federal officers arrived there. The abundant national resources of these Territories with the security and protection afforded by organized government will doubtless invite to them a large immigration when peace shall restore the business of the country to its accustomed channels. I submit the resolutions of the Legislature of Colorado, which evince the patriotic spirit of the people of the Territory. So far the authority of the United States has been upheld in all the Territories as it is hoped it will be in the future. I commend their interests to the enlightened and generous care of Congress.

I recommend to the favorable consideration of Congress the interests of the District of Columbia. The insurrection has been the cause of much suffering and sacrifice to the inhabitants, and as they have no representative in Congress, that body should not overlook their just claims upon the Government.

At the late session a joint resolution was adopted authorizing the President to take measures for securing a proper representation of the industrial interests of the United States, at the exhibition of the industry of all nations, to be holden at London in the year 1862.

I regret to have been unable to give personal attention to this subject—a subject at once so interesting in itself and so extensively and intricately connected with the material prosperity of the world. Through the Secretary of State and of the Interior, a system has been devised and partially matured which will be laid before you.

Under and by virtue of the act of Congress entitled, An Act to Confiscate Property used for Insurrectionary Purposes, approved August 6th, 1861, the legatee claim of certain persons to the labor and service of certain other persons, have become forfeited, and numbers of the latter thus liberated are already dependent on the United States and must be provided for in some way. Besides, it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefit respectively, by the operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal. In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such states, according to some mode of valuation in lieu *pro tanto* of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed on with such States respectively, that such persons, and such acceptance by the General Government be at once deemed free, and that in any event such be taken for colonizing both classes, or the one first mentioned, if the other shall not be brought into existence at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization. To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquisition of territories, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition.

Having practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was at first questioned by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here.

Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than on providing room for population. On this whole proposition including the appropriation of money, with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity, that without which the government cannot be perpetual?

In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents, instead of putting in force my proclamation and the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing those ports;

also availed the dictates of prudence as well as the dictates of law. Instead of transcending, I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law on the same subject shall be proposed its propriety shall be considered. The Union must be preserved and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal are indispensable.

The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of actual military importance, till more deliberate action of the Legislature.

The Inaugural address at the beginning of the Administration, and the Message to Congress at the late special session, were both mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung. Nothing now occurs to add or subtract to or from the principles or the general purposes stated and expressed in those documents. The last ray of hope of preserving the Union peaceably expired at the assault upon Fort Sumpter, and a general review of what has occurred since may not be unprofitable.

What was painfully uncertain then as much better deferred is more distinct now, and the progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claim a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's Line, and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on the point.

This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. South of the line noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland was made to serve against the Union. Our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned, and railroads were torn up within her limits, and we were many days, at one time, without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the Capital.

Now her bridges are up and repaired and open to the government. She already gives seven regiments to the cause and none to the enemy, and her people at a regular election have sustained the Union by a large majority, and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate or any question.

Kentucky too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly, and I think unchangeably, ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet and I believe cannot again be overrun by the insurgents. These three states, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than 40,000 in the field for the Union while of their citizens certainly not more than a third of this number are among the insurgents, and they of doubtful existence, are in arms against it.

After a doubtful and somewhat bloody struggle for months, winter closes on the Union people of Western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country. An insurgent force of about 1500 for months dominating on a narrow peninsula region constituting the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as the Eastern Shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms and the people there have renewed their allegiance to the old flag.

This leaves no avowed insurrection north of the Potomac, or east of the Chesapeake. Also, we have a footing at each of the isolated points on the Southern coasts, on Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island, near Savannah, and Ship Island, and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee.

These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily Southward. Since your last adjournment Lieutenant Gen. Scott has retired from the head of the army. During his long life the nation has not been unmindful of his merits, yet on calling to mind how faithfully, ably, and brilliantly he

has served the country in times far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually, I cannot but think that we are still his debtors. I submit therefore for your consideration what further mark of recognition is due to him, and ourselves as a grateful people. With the retirement of Gen. Scott, came the executive duty of appointing in his stead a General in charge of the army.

It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council nor country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring Chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of Gen. McClellan, for the position, and in this the nation seems to give a unanimous concurrence.

The designation of Gen. McClellan is, in a considerable degree, the selection of the country, as well as the executive, and hence there is better reason to hope there will be given him confidence and cordial support, thus by fair implication promised, and without which we cannot, with so full efficiency, serve the country.

It has been said, that "one bad general is better than two good ones," and the saying is true if taken to mean no more than that an army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior, than by two superior, which are at variance and cross purposes.

And the same is true in all joint operations wherein those engaged can have none but a common end in view, and can differ only as to the choice of means. In a storm at sea no one can wish the ship to sink, and yet not unfrequently all go down together because too many will direct, and no single mind can be allowed to control.

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely if not exclusively a war upon the first principles of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents.

In these documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people to participate in the solution of public affairs, except the Legislative body, advocated with labored argument to prove that a large control of the government in the people is the source of political evil; monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as the possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of retarding despotism. It is not needed nor fitting here, that a general argument should be made to favor popular institutions, but there is one point with its connections not so hackneyed as most others to which I ask a brief attention.

It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above labor in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor.

This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to it without their consent.

Having proved so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves, and further, it is assumed that whosoever is once a bound laborer is fixed in that condition for life. Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer.

Both of these assumptions are false and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed.—Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights which are as worthy of protection as any other rights.

Nor is it deemed that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor, producing equal benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capi-

tal hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others nor have others work for them.

In most of the Southern States a majority of the whole people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern States a large majority are neither hirers nor hired men.

With their families,—wives, servants and daughters—they work for themselves in their houses or in their shops, taking their productions to themselves, asking no favors from capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other.

It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital—that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is not a distinct class.—No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has been observed, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed for that condition for life. Many independent men every where in these States a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent penniless beggar in the world labors for wages and the while saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself—then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just, generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all; and consequently energy, progress and improvement are the conditions to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up, or on, from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our census to the last, there are seventy years, and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was in the beginning. The increase of those which men deem desirable has been even greater.

We thus have at one view what the popular principle of government applied to the machinery of the States, and the Union, has produced in a given time, and also what it fairly maintained, it promises for the future.

There are already among us those who, if the Union be not dissolved will live to see it contain two hundred and fifty millions.

The struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day; it is for the vast future also.

With a firm reliance on Providence—all the more firm—let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

Washington, December 3, 1861.

SLAVE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

We copy from the Rochester Express the following pertinent remarks on the present policy of the Government in regard to slaves:

What to do with the slaves in the rebel States, as the army penetrates to the heart of the Conspiracy, is a serious and embarrassing question, if the Government undertakes to discuss and decide it at all. If the negroes found at the South are to be recognized as slaves and property, they ought to be subject to the law of confiscation. That seems to be clear, and Gen. Butler, with his direct logic and practical sense, lost not a moment of time nor a particle of strength by discussing the matter. His legal habits led him to adopt a fiction covered by the phrase 'contraband,' which, so long as it met the necessity for immediate action, and prevented wrong, was satisfactory. Still, it makes embarrassment for the future. The war concluded, and these thousands of 'contrabands' in the hands of the Government, what will it do with them? Refusal to recognize human beings as slaves or property, seems to be the way to cut the Gordian knot.

Gen. Fremont, not being a lawyer, dealt with the matter in a soldierly way, and pronounced the slaves of rebels FREE. That was

a bold and unexpected stroke, but its decisiveness and conclusiveness commended the policy to the people of the North, who have so long prayed for the time when slavery shall be utterly abolished from the Republic. But neither the policy of Gen. Butler nor that of Fremont has been sustained by the Government, which deals quite differently with the subject when it comes within the immediate reach of the Administration. Gen. Halleck, in Missouri, reverses the Fremont policy, as will be seen by the following telegram from St. Louis:

'Gen. Halleck has issued orders that, in consequence of important information respecting the number and condition of our forces being conveyed to the enemy by fugitive slaves, no such persons shall hereafter be permitted to enter the lines of any camp, nor any forces on the march, and any now within such lines to be immediately excluded therefrom.'

What the country chiefly asks, is some clearly defined measure which shall be consistently carried out in all parts of the country. Fully appreciating the difficulties which surround the vexed question, the people will be patient and kind toward the Government, and reserve criticisms and rebukes for a future day, if they shall be demanded at all. But it is due to the Administration that the same matter should be treated alike in all departments, which does not appear to be the case now. Gen. Wool adheres to the plan of Gen. Butler, which the Secretary of War approved. Gen. Halleck reverses that of Fremont, and Gen. Sherman appears to adopt no decided course in South Carolina.

The following example of Gen. Kelly's conduct in Kentucky looks like a still different and far worse line of policy in that State:

"At a late skirmish near Romney, Virginia, a party of our men were forced to retreat, leaving a corporal and two privates so hard pressed that they had to secrete themselves in the bushes to escape death or capture. In his situation they were discovered by two slaves belonging to a violent secessionist in the vicinity. Under cover of the night these faithful fellows managed to conduct our three men safely to our camp, where all were received with joy and surprise. The negroes were kindly treated, and duly fed and protected. When, some time after, Brigadier-General Kelly, of Western Virginia, came to the camp and assumed command, the circumstances were related to him, and the negroes commended to his notice. Instead of treating them with honor and assuring them of his protection, he immediately handed them over to the tender mercies of the traitor-villain who claimed to own them."

The Tribune gives this statement on what it regards as good authority, and the Post endorses it upon reliable information. It is a single instance of wrong, but one calculated to do great harm.

The Telegraph states, with a rather unusual degree of positiveness, that Secretary Cameron will urge upon Congress the adoption of the policy indicated in Col. Cochrane's speech, to not only liberate but ARM the slaves of rebels, keeping them, of course, under control of responsible officers.

What the President will advise, will probably not be known outside of his Cabinet until his Message is promulgated. If the rebels' sentiment of hatred and fury is correctly indicated in Jeff Davis' message, there can be no hope of settling the war by any half measures, and protracted delay only seem to help the other side. And it will not do to overlook the fact, that in the Northern States there is a large and well-organized body of men whose design is to encourage a false policy, and then to break down the Administration in its attempt to carry it out.—Those who have noticed that some presses which were loudest in the hue and cry against Fremont, now turn round and accuse members of the Administration of removing him because he might stand in the way of their own political ambition, will need no stronger hint of the real designs of those who were lately so loud in their abuse of the President

and his Cabinet, and who found it difficult to repress their sympathies for the Secessionists. Let the Administration determine what, in its best judgment, is RIGHT, and then stand firmly by THE RIGHT, and the People will be found standing by the Administration.

DEATH OF FRANCIS JACKSON.—Francis Jackson, a well-known citizen of Boston, died in that city on Thursday morning, Nov. 14th. His death was sudden, at last, from an attack of acute disease, though he has been an invalid for several years. Mr. Jackson was best known to the public from his long and devoted adherence to the anti-slavery cause. When, nearly thirty years ago, the 'broad-cloth' mob of Boston undertook to suppress all expression of anti-slavery sentiment by an attempt to hang Mr. Garrison, Mr. Jackson, from pure love of fair play and free speech, threw open his house to the devoted women whose meeting was the immediate cause of the mob. Since that day, his door has never been closed to those who suffered persecution, whether black or white, and especially has his home been a haven of refuge to those flying slaves whom neither man befriended nor the law protected; but though Mr. Jackson has been for so many years conspicuous among the advocates of more than one cause of reform, a very large circle has known him in quite other relations, where the tenderness of Christian sympathy and the generous openness of Christian charity were the qualities brought into action, rather than the sterner virtues of the reformer. Mr. Jackson was a natural democrat, who was literally no respecter of persons, and saw no difference between man and man, but who possessed that large pity for human suffering of every nature that was never appealed to in vain. Hunger and nakedness, whether of soul or of body, whether in the high or the low, found in him a ready helper, and his winning simplicity and kindness, his wisdom and his benevolence, made him the centre of a circle who held him in such reverence and love as is given to not many men in a generation. While all Boston will bear testimony—in spite of the fact that she has pointed her finger at him so often on the anti-slavery platform—that her honestest man has died, there will be a deep and silent sorrow among very many people who will mourn a benefactor as wise and kind as he was unassuming.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

AN INCIDENT.—A young Massachusetts volunteer got into a Broadway omnibus, the other day, and took a seat by the side of an aged man wearing the badge of mourning on his hat, who immediately asked him what regiment he belonged to, and what he was going for?

'I am going to fight.'

'And what are you going to fight for?'

'To liberate every SLAVE; and there are plenty beside me in our regiment who will do the same if they get the chance.'

'I am glad of it. I lost two sons at Bull Run,' said the gentleman, 'and they went from the same motive.'

The volunteer was the son of one who died in a Baltimore prison, years back, for the cause of freedom.

A Memphis paper states that several hundred stout negro men, members of the 'domestic institution,' recently marched through that city, in military order, under the command of Confederate officers. They were well armed and equipped with shovels, axes, blankets, &c., and were brim full of patriotism, shouting for Jeff. Davis, and singing war songs, and each looked as if he only wanted the privilege of shooting an Abolitionist.

Thirty-seven contraband negroes arrived in Philadelphia recently, having walked northward from Accomac County, on the peninsula, Virginia. They were supplied with money by the Wisconsin troops. A number of these people are constantly arriving, which has stimulated a public meeting to be held in Philadelphia soon to assist them.

THE FUGITIVES IN CANADA.

Rev. HIRAM WILSON, of St. Catharines, C. W., a gentleman well acquainted with the condition and wants of the fugitive slaves in Canada, gives the following opinion in regard to the formation of a new Society, called 'The Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catharines.' We copy from the *Liberator* :

This movement may appear well to friends of humanity in Boston and other parts of New England, but it looks strangely to us here; it is so uncalled for.

The colored people in this part of Canada are generally in a thriving condition. Divine Providence has favored them, in common with others, with a fruitful season, and with ample employment.

Fugitives fresh from slavery have been in the habit of coming to my house for relief, advice, &c., ever since I have lived in the place, now eleven years, and they have always had help when it was in our power to favor them; but since the civil war commenced, they have very seldom come to us, for the reason that they find protection in the Northern States, and are encouraged to stop short of Canada; or, if they do come over, they can come at their leisure, halting with friends by the way, who minister to their wants, so that they come into Canada in a far more comfortable condition than in former years.

With regard to those who may be suffering from sickness or destitution, (which, by the way, there are none now that I am aware of,) the town charity is ample, and I am happy to know that it is extended as promptly and liberally to them as to any other class of poor people. I say these things from personal knowledge, and not from hearsay or second-hand testimony.

For years past, while the strangers, direct from slavery, have generally been well cared for, and always to the extent of our means; others who, by reason of sickness, misfortune or providence, have required help, in the cold season of the year, have had it freely extended to them from the town supplies, and will doubtless continue to be thus favored.

I need say no more on this theme at present, and I could not have said less, as it is right that anti-slavery people who have means to bestow, in these times of calamity, should know fully how best to direct and apply their benefactions.

GEN. SHERMAN'S PROCLAMATION.

After landing and taking possession of the forts at Port Royal, S. C., on Nov. 8th, Gen. Sherman issued the following proclamation to the people of South Carolina:

In obedience to the orders of the President of these United States of America, I have landed on your shores with a small force of national troops. The dictates of a duty, which under the Constitution I owe to a great sovereign State, and to a proud and hospitable people, among whom I have passed some of the pleasantest days of my life, prompt me to proclaim that we have come amongst you with no feelings of personal animosity, no desire to harm your citizens, destroy your property, or interfere with any of your lawful laws, rights, or your social and local institutions, beyond what the causes herein briefly alluded to may render unavoidable.

Citizens of South Carolina! The civilized world stands appalled at the course you are pursuing!—appalled at the crime you are committing against your own mother—the best, the most enlightened, and therefore the most prosperous of nations. You are in a state of actual rebellion against the laws of your country. You have lawlessly seized upon the forts, arsenals, and other property belonging to our common country, and within your borders with this property you are in arms and waging a ruthless war against your constitutional government, and thus threatening the existence of a government which you are bound by the terms of the solemn compact to live under and faithfully support. In do-

ing this you are not only undermining and preparing the way for totally ignoring your own political and social existence, but you are threatening the civilized world with the odious sentiment that self government is impossible with civilized man.

Fellow-citizens! I implore you to pause and reflect upon the terror and consequences of your acts, if the awful sacrifices made by the devastation of our property, the shedding of fraternal blood in battle, the mourning and wailing of widows and orphans throughout our land, are insufficient to deter you from further pursuing this unholy war. Then ponder, I beseech you, upon the ultimate, but not less certain result which its further progress must necessarily and naturally entail upon your once happy and prosperous State.—Indeed, can you pursue this fratricidal war, and continue to imbrue your hands in the loyal blood of your countrymen, your friends, your kinsmen, for no other object than to unlawfully disrupt the confederacy of a great people—a confederacy established by your own hands, in order to set up, were it possible, an independent government, under which you can never live in peace, prosperity, or quietness.

Carolians! We have come among you as loyal men, fully impressed with our constitutional obligations to the citizens of your State; those obligations shall be performed as far as in our power, but be not deceived: the obligation of suppressing armed combinations against the constitutional authorities is paramount to all others. If, in the performances of this duty, other minor but important obligations should be in any way neglected, it must be attributed to the necessities of the case; because rights dependent on the laws of the state must be necessarily subordinate to military exigencies, created by insurrection and rebellion.

T. W. SHERMAN,
Brig.-Gen. Commanding.

A NATIONAL EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

A meeting of the friends of emancipation was held in New York City, November 6th, at which the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, The time has now come, in which, if ever, the necessary means of putting down the rebellion should be ascertained, and resolutely carried forward, and should, at once, occupy the minds, and enlist the resources of all loyal citizens; and, it is manifest that there is no reasonable prospect of terminating the present conflict and securing a permanent peace but by the speedy and complete liberation of the slaves; and the exigencies of the times require that emancipation be proclaimed by the lawful authorities, in accordance with the law of God, the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and as an incident of the war power agreeably to the law of nations, as expounded by John Quincy Adams in Congress in the year 1842:

Resolved, That an association, to be styled 'The National Emancipation Association,' be now organized, whose duty it shall be, by Petition, the use of the Press, and other agencies, to promote this object.

Resolved, That the Association have power to fill vacancies in their own body, and, if deemed expedient, from time to time, to increase their number; also to appoint sub-committees and necessary officers, and to employ such assistants, and incur such expenditures as may be necessary; and as the funds furnished to the association may warrant, publishing annually, or more frequently, an authenticated account of their receipts and expenditures.

Resolved, That the Association shall give free and impartial circulation to all the various classes of arguments that have been, or that may be adduced by able, earnest, competent, thoughtful men, whether those arguments be based on religious, moral, benevolent, political, economical or military considerations—whether drawn from the Bible, the Constitution, the nature of Civil Government, the

responsibilities of Society, the value of Free Institutions and of the Union, the exigencies of the country, the rights of the enslaved or the free, the interests of the North or of the South, or of the whole country, the claims of human nature, or the commandments of God—whether the measure be advocated as a necessity of war, or as a duty at all times—whether it be urged on the President, or Congress, or on military commanders.

Upon the adoption of the foregoing platform, the Association was organized by the choice of officers—J. W. ALDEN, President, and SAM. L. HARRIS, Secretary.

The Association is now ready for work; and for the furtherance of the object, solicit contributions from the friends of the oppressed, and of the Government. Even a postage stamp (letter) will furnish the means to send off a number of Petitions. Those persons sending any amount will receive in return Petitions, &c.

SAM. L. HARRIS, Secretary,
96 Warren St., New York.

CENSUS OF COLORED AMERICANS.

The following statistics of the free colored persons of African descent resident in the various States of the Union, have been carefully compiled from the recent Census Returns, and may therefore be relied upon for their accuracy:

The numbers in the Free States are—

California.....	3,816
Connecticut.....	8,542
Illinois.....	7,069
Indiana.....	10,869
Iowa.....	1,023
Kansas.....	623
Maine.....	1,195
Massachusetts.....	9,454
Michigan.....	6,823
Minnesota.....	229
New Hampshire.....	450
New Jersey.....	24,947
New York.....	47,998
Ohio.....	36,225
Oregon.....	121
Pennsylvania.....	56,373
Rhode Island.....	3,918
Vermont.....	582
Wisconsin.....	1,481

Total in the Free States.....221,738

In the District of Columbia there are 11,107 free colored persons, and the Territories 229, making a total of 11,406.

In the Slave States not yet withdrawn from the Union, there are—

Missouri.....	2,983
Delaware.....	19,723
Kentucky.....	10,146
Maryland.....	83,718

Total.....116,570

In the Free States.....221,738

In the District of Columbia... 11,107

In the Territories..... 229

Total in the Union.....349,714

In the Seceded States there are—

Alabama.....	2,630
Arkansas.....	137
Florida.....	908
Georgia.....	3,459
Louisiana.....	18,638
Mississippi.....	731
North Carolina.....	30,097
South Carolina.....	9,648
Tennessee.....	7,235
Texas.....	389
Virginia.....	57,579

Total.....131,401

In the Union.....349,714

Grand total.....481,115

The number of colored persons in the New England States was as follows, at the periods named—

	1850.	1860.
Maine.....	1,356	1,195
New Hampshire.....	520	450
Vermont.....	718	582
Massachusetts.....	9,064	9,454
Rhode Island.....	3,670	3,918
Connecticut.....	7,693	8,542
Total.....	23,021	24,141

ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR IN BRISTOL.

The Bristol (England) Anti Slavery Association has decided to prepare for holding the next Annual Bazaar in that city, early in April, 1862.

For some years past the sale of work and other articles, contributed by the friends of the slave on this side of the Atlantic, has taken place in Great Britain or Ireland, to avoid the heavy duty incurred by sending them to America.

The objects to which the proceeds will be applied are—the assistance of fugitive slaves, (many hundreds of whom yearly effect their escape into British territory.)—diffusing information on the subject of slavery—and aiding some who have nobly stood their ground in defence of freedom.

The attention of British Christians has so long been turned to the iniquity and horrors of the slave system, still existing in all their enormity, that it is believed when the ear is open to the cry of suffering millions, and to the still small voice, saying, "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them," many will give a hearty response to this invitation to do something for the enslaved.

Whilst earnestly desiring that the present melancholy conflicts in America may be overruled for the hastening of entire abolition, the Committee would remind their friends, that war and its attendant evils will probably affect the sum raised there for the cause, and render more needful the aid that can be afforded by this country.

Feeling that no effort must be slackened until the last fetter shall be broken, and the oppressed go free, the Bristol Anti-Slavery Association would earnestly solicit the kind co-operation of the friends of freedom by contributions to the Bazaar, and by securing a large amount of sympathy and help during the coming winter.

They would especially appeal to those who enjoy the liberty wherewith Christ makes His people free, to lend their aid in breaking the chains, which not only hold the captive in outward bondage, but to so large an extent, hinder the spread of the Gospel among the oppressed and their oppressors.

It is requested that contributions may be sent before the 20th of March to ladies whose names are annexed, and who will give further information if required. They will also gladly receive donations from any who prefer the aiding the cause in a more direct manner.

Early notice will be given of the exact time fixed for the Bazaar.

It is requested that boxes from a distance may be sent to Mrs. H. BRITAN, Chudleigh House, White Ladies' Road, Clifton, who should be informed by post of their dispatch.

RECEIVING LADIES.

Bristol—Mrs. O. C. Lane, the Mayoress, Clifton Down; Mrs. Richard Ash, 8, Victoria Sq'r; Mrs. Bruce, 21, Somerset Street, Kingsdown; Mrs. Samuel Capper, Coburg Road, Montpelier; Mrs. E. Charleton, Ashley Hill; Miss Fox, 25, Cotham Road; Mrs. Grace, Elmfield Villa, Hampton Park; Mrs. Hebditch, Lopen Villa, Arley Hill; Miss Leonard, 3, Buckingham Villas; Mrs. Wm. Lemmon, 15, Portland Sq'r; Mrs. Polglase, Parkside, Cotham Hill; Mrs. Sibree, Cotham Park; Miss Sherring, 3 Ashley Place; Mrs. George Thomas, Brislington; Mrs. Samuel Ware, 48, Park Street; Mrs. S. Wills, Hill House, Kingsdown.

Birmingham—Mrs. Goodrick, George Street; Mrs. Middlemore, Elvetham Rd.; Mrs. Stamp, Frederick Street; Mrs. Edmund Sturge, Wheelley's Hill.

Bath—Mrs. Samuel Rutter, Stall Street.
Berwick on Tweed—Mrs. John Paxton.
Birkenhead—Mrs. Coventry, 10, Devonshire Place.

Cardiff—Mrs. Henry Bishop, Queen Street; Mrs. Edwards, Crockherbtown.

Cheltenham—Miss Ame-Droz, 43, Lansdown Crescent.

Coventry—Miss Cash, Sherburne House.

Croydon—Mrs. John Morland, Heath Lodge.

Derby—Mrs. Steer, 25, Wilnot Street.

Dublin—Mrs. Studdert, Rathgar Mansion, Rathmines; Mrs. W. Webb, 6, Dunville Av., Rathmines.

Edinburgh—Mrs. Horseburgh, 18, Buccleuch Place; Mrs. Swan, 7, Hope Crescent.

Falmouth—Mrs. A. Fox, Wodehouse Place; Mrs. Hooper, Stratton Place, Green Bank; Mrs. Maule, Woodlane Terrace.

Glasgow—Mrs. Dr. Robson, 2, Queen's Crescent; Miss Smith, 62, Kelvingrove Street.

Halifax—Mrs. Russell Carpenter, 14, Milton Place; Mrs. Hargraves, 3, Lord Street.

Leeds—Mrs. Crofts, 15, Grope Terrace.

Liverpool—Mrs. John Cropper, Dingle Bank; Mrs. John Robberds, High Park Street.

Montrose—Mrs. Dr. Lawrence, Mrs. Robert Barclay.

Newcastle on Tyne—Miss Pringle.

Plymouth—Mrs. Steele, St. Michael's Terrace.

Reigate, Surrey—Miss Alexander, London Road.

Salisbury—Mrs. Wm. Chubb, Bridge Street.

Sheffield—Mrs. Doncaster, Broomhall Park; Mrs. Rawson, Wincobank Hall; Mrs. Read, 1, Ashmount, Broomhill.

Street, Somerset—Mrs. James Clark.

Wellington, Somerset—Mrs. Hawkins, Lippenate Cottage.

N. B. The Bristol Committee will be obliged by ladies attaching a price to their respective contributions.

GENERAL STONE.—A writer in the Boston Transcript comments bitterly on the conduct of Gen. Stone. He says:

'He is known to be in high favor with the Maryland secessionists. These fellows express the greatest confidence in Gen. Stone; and why shouldn't they? He orders the troops under his command to obey and observe the laws of Maryland, which forbid the harboring of fugitive slaves, &c; protects known traitors who have been arrested by subordinate officers for making signals to the enemy, and when brought before him have been discharged, with a reprimand to the officers making such arrests; sends back all negroes found in the camps to whoever claims them; and to crown his recommendations to their favor, has needlessly, foolishly, criminally ordered our Massachusetts troops to unavailing laughter.'

RETIREMENT OF GEN. SCOTT.—This old veteran has withdrawn from active service, and, upon his own application, been placed on the retired list of the army of the U. S. The incident is one of universal interest, and was very properly made the occasion of a simple but impressive ceremony. Upon receiving the General's application for leave to retire the President, attended by the Cabinet, waited upon him at his residence, and with every demonstration of respect and honor, informed him that his request was granted. The General replied in some unpremeditated remarks, full of grateful emotion, expressing his ardent love of the Union, and his prayers for its preservation, and his cordial confidence in the patriotism and wisdom of the Administration. Gen. Scott has gone to Europe on a short visit. In obedience to an order of the War Department, Gen. McClellan has assumed command of the armies of the U. S.

Gen. Butler recently made a speech at Burlington, Vt., in which he said that if any foreign nation dared to interfere in our intestine war, he would cease dealing with Southern traitors as erring brothers, delicately and tenderly, and should arm every loyal Union man, North and South, black and white, bond and free, until treason and its abettors are exterminated, and the meddling world was taught a salutary lesson. This sentiment was received with overwhelming plaudits.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO DOUGLASS' MONTHLY—1861.

Miss Shore, Sheffield.....	2	5
Mrs. Humble, Idle.....	5	
R. H. Hutton, Esq., Teddington.....	5	
Rev. J. Barling, Windermere.....	5	
Rev. M. C. Frankland, Manchester.....	5	
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Mr. Walker, ".....	10	
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Total Subscriptions.....£26 0

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Mrs. Ludworth, ".....	1	0
Mrs. S. R. Ralph, ".....	1	10
Miss Ame Droz, Sheffield.....	10	

Total Donations.....£13 0

A NEW PARTY—THE WOLF-KILLERS.—

Among the letters read at the recent meeting of the Pennsylvania A. S. Society, was the following from THEODORE TILTON:

NEW YORK, Oct. 23, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—My opinion, since you ask it, is just this. There is war because there was a Republican party; there was a Republican party because there was an Abolition party; there was an Abolition party because there was slavery. To charge the war upon Republicanism is merely to blame the lamb that stood in the brook; to charge it upon Abolitionism is to blame the sheep for being the lamb's mother; but to charge it upon slavery is to lay the crime straight at the door of the wolf. I belong to the party of wolf-killers!

Always your friend,

THEODORE TILTON.

LEFT HIS OLD FRIENDS.—Rev. Hiram Mattison, who has been connected with the Methodist Black River Conference for the last twenty-five years, and who is widely known as an able and eloquent preacher, has notified the Presiding Elder of the Rome District, of his withdrawal from the Church. He assigns as a reason for this step the fact that he is unwilling to take his passport for eternity from a church in which there are thousands of slaveholders in good and regular standing; and that, too, without rebuke either in the discipline of the church, or by the administration. It is understood that Mr. Mattison will become the pastor of the St. John's Methodist Church, an independent organization in New York City.

The Charleston Mercury says that 'it is better for South Carolina to be the cemetery of freemen than the home of slaves.' To which the Providence Journal replies, 'That opinion is gaining ground in these parts.'

TERMS OF DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

Single Copies, to American subscribers, \$1 per year.
" " " to British " 5s. sterling.

Subscriptions must be paid for invariably in advance.

All communications, whether on business or for publication, should be addressed to

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

AGENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for *Douglass' Monthly* in Great Britain:

Halifax—Rev. RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, Milton Place; Rev. Dr. CROFTS, North Parade.

London—Mr. L. A. CAMEROVZOW, Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, E. C.

Dublin—Mr. Wm. Webb, 52, High Street, and 8, Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.

Derby—Dr. SPENCER T. HALL, Burton Road.

Glasgow—Mr. JOHN SMITH, 173, Trongate.

Leeds—Mr. ARTHUR HOLLAND, 4, Park Row.

Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. WALTER S. PRINGLE.

Haytian Advertisements.

INVITATION.

Hayti will soon regain her ancient splendor. This marvelous soil that our fathers, blessed by God, conquered for us, will soon yield to us the wealth now hidden in its bosom. Let our black and yellow brethren, scattered through the Antilles, and North and South America, hasten to co-operate with us in restoring the glory of the Republic. Hayti is the common country of the black race. Our ancestors, in taking possession of it, were careful to announce in the Constitution that they published, that all the descendants of Africans, and of the inhabitants of the West Indies, belong by right to the Haytian family. The idea was grand and generous.

Listen, then, all ye negroes and mulattoes who, in the vast Continent of America, suffer from the prejudices of caste. The Republic calls you; she invites you to bring to her your arms and your minds. The regenerating work that she undertakes interests all colored people and their descendants, no matter what their origin or where their place of birth.

Hayti, regaining her former position, retaking her ancient sceptre as Queen of the Antilles, will be a formal denial, most eloquent and peremptory, against those detractors of our race who contest our desire and ability to attain a high degree of civilization. GEFFREARD.

CIRCULAR---No. I.

To the Blacks, Men of Color, and Indians in the United States and British North American Provinces:

FRIENDS:—I am authorized and instructed by the Government of the Republic, to offer you, individually and by communities, a welcome, a home, and a free homestead, in Hayti.

Such of you as are unable to pay your passage will be provided with the means of defraying it.

Two classes of emigrants are especially invited—laborers and farmers. None of either class, or any class, will be furnished with passports, who cannot produce, before sailing, the proofs of good character for industry and integrity.

To each family of emigrants, five carreaux (a carreau is 3 acres and 3 1-3 rods) of fresh and fertile land, capable of growing all the fruits and staples of the tropics, will be gratuitously given, on the sole condition that they shall settle on it and cultivate it, and declare their intention of becoming citizens of Hayti. To unmarried men, on similar conditions, two carreaux will be granted.

Board and lodging, free of cost, will be furnished to the emigrants for at least eight days after their arrival in the island.

The government also will find remunerative work for those of you whose means will not permit you to begin immediately an independent cultivation.

Emigrants are invited to settle in communities.

Sites for the erection of schools and chapels will be donated by the State, without regard to the religious belief of the emigrants.

The same protection and civil rights that the laws give to Haytians are solemnly guaranteed to the emigrants.

The fullest religious liberty will be secured to them; they will never be called on to support the Roman Catholic Church.

No military service will be demanded of them, excepting that they shall form military companies and drill themselves once a month.

All the necessary personal effects, machinery and agricultural instruments introduced by the emigrants, shall be entered free of duty.

The emigrants shall be at liberty to leave the country at any moment they please; but those whose passage shall be paid by government, if they wish to return before the expiration of three years, will be required to refund the money expended on their account. A contract, fixing the amount, will be made with each emigrant before leaving the continent.

I have been commissioned to superintend the interests of the emigrants, and charged with the entire control of the movement in America, and all persons, therefore, desiring to avail themselves of the invitation and bounty of the

Haytian Government, are requested to correspond with me.

I shall at once, as directed by the Government, establish a bureau of emigration in Boston, and publish a Guide Book for the use of those persons of African or Indian descent who may wish to make themselves acquainted with the resources of the country and the disposition of its authorities.

I shall also appoint Agents to visit such communities as may seriously entertain the project of emigration.

Immediate arrangements, both here and in Hayti, can be made for the embarkment and settlement of one hundred thousand persons.

By order of the Government of the Republic of Hayti.

JAMES REDPATH,

General Agent of Emigration.

Boston, Nov. 3, 1860.

CIRCULAR---No. III.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
August 31st, 1861. }

AUTUMN ARRANGEMENTS.

Arrangements will be made by which emigrants can sail from different ports during the autumn and winter. Due notice will be given of the days of sailing, through the columns of "The Pine and Palm."

Persons desiring to emigrate are requested to read carefully the circulars of this Bureau, and to follow the directions therein given, as it is impossible to provide for the comfort of passengers except by insisting on a strict compliance with our regulations.

I. Let it be understood, that all who can pay for their passage are expected to do so; and that a passage will be advanced to such farmers and laborers only as are unable to meet this expense.

II. All mechanics who intend to practice their trades in Hayti, must go at their own expense; the Government guarantees to find work for farmers and laborers only. It will welcome all colored emigrants; but it cannot agree to provide work for all classes of mechanics. Its demands for agricultural labor is unlimited; but for mechanical skill this is not the case.

III. Passengers will be charged at the rate of \$18 each adult from United States ports; from Canada West, \$25. Children under eight will be charged half price; infants under one year, free.

IV. Passengers, in all cases, should provide their own bedding. Mattresses must be four feet wide. Each passenger must be provided with a tin gallon can for water, a tin cup, a tin plate, knife and fork, a few pounds of soap, and towels, with such extra utensils as may be deemed necessary to hold the daily rations.

V. The amount of baggage allowed to every passenger is two trunks, or two barrels, or one trunk and one barrel. All freight over that amount will be charged for, separately from the passage ticket, at the rate of 75 cents per barrel or 15 cents per cubic foot from American ports; or 90 cents per barrel and 18 cents per cubic foot from British North American ports. This is exclusive of the bedding, which goes free.—All goods must be boxed up.

VI. The board provided for emigrants will be the navy rations of the United States, minus intoxicating spirits, which will not be allowed in our vessels. The following is the fare:

NAVY RATION FOR EACH DAY OF THE WEEK.

Days.	Bread.	Beef.	Pork.	Flour.	Rice.	Dried Fruit.	Pickles.	Sugar.	Tea.	Choice of either.	Butter.	Cheese.	Beans.	Molasses.	Vinegar.	Water.
Sunday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tuesday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wednesday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thursday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Friday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saturday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	98	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	7

Emigrants are at liberty to carry, free of expense, additional provisions to be used on the voyage. Slight additions may be made to the navy rations; but the Bureau does not pledge itself to do so.

VII. As efforts have been industriously made by unscrupulous men to misrepresent the conditions under which emigrants who do not prepay their passages, will accept the offers of the Government of Hayti, it is deemed advisable to publish below, in full, the contract to be made with them. The words in italic and within brackets (blank in the original) are filled up to show precisely the terms on which a single man can emigrate. It should be distinctly understood, that no barrier whatever will be put to

any man's return, excepting that he shall pay the sum of eighteen dollars before embarking for the United States, if he did not pay for his own passage from this country to Hayti. The Government of Hayti, while they will welcome all visitors, cannot reasonably be expected to pay their passages. Hence this provision.

The following is the contract with the emigrants who do not prepay their passages:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this [first] day of [January.] A. D., 1861, by and between JAMES REDPATH, of Boston, General Agent of Emigration, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hayti, and [John Smith,] late of [Detroit, Michigan,] and an emigrant to Hayti;

WITNESSETH: That said James Redpath, on behalf of the Government of Hayti aforesaid, agrees to provide a passage for said [John Smith] from the port of [Boston] to the port of [St. Mark.] in said Hayti, in the [Brig L'Ami d'Hayti,] leaving the port of [Boston] on or about the [third] day of [January] 1861, upon the conditions hereafter following, viz:

First, said [John Smith] hereby acknowledges the receipt of [a] ticket of passage from said port of [Boston] to said port of [St. Mark.] in Hayti, and agrees during the term of said voyage to provide [his] own bedding, and the necessary utensils for eating and drinking. Secondly, in consideration of receiving the passage aforesaid, said [John Smith] further agrees, that if he accepts a grant of land from the Government of Hayti, under the provisions of the law on Emigration, approved by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Hayti, September 1, 1860, he will repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, within [three years] from the date of the contract.

Furthermore, that if from any cause said [John Smith] sees proper to leave Hayti before the expiration of the term of three years from the date of [his] arrival in the Island, [he] shall pay the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, as repayment of expenses incurred by the agents of the Government for [his] passage to Hayti; but, nevertheless, with this express provision: That if [he] does remain three years in the Island from the date of [his] arrival therein, and does not see fit to accept a grant of land from the Government of the Republic of Hayti, [he] shall not be required to repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti, or any agent of Government thereof, any sum whatever on account of said passage.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

[L. s.]
[L. s.]

[John Smith.]
JAMES REDPATH.

VIII. Emigrants must pay their expenses to the port of embarkation.

IX. To aid emigrants who wish to carry extra baggage, the Bureau will allow them, (by giving a note payable to the Government of Hayti,) to take such freight to the amount of \$10.

X. The Bureau wishes it to be distinctly understood, however, that unless at least twenty days notice is given of intention to sail, with the amount of baggage to be taken, it will not hold itself responsible to secure a passage for any one.

XI. All persons desiring information relative to the movement, are cordially invited to correspond with the General Bureau, or personally to visit it. The fullest information will be afforded them.

XII. Usual length of voyage, from fourteen to twenty days.

A. E. NEWTON,
Corresponding Secretary.

NOW READY,

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY HON. GERIT SMITH; containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason, and three of his recent Speeches—one of them delivered lately on the War. Price 50 cents.

For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY,
No. 121 Nassau-st., New York.

—The Haytian Central Bureau of Emigration has been removed from Boston to New York. Persons intending to emigrate, or desiring information respecting Hayti, should now address Mr. A. E. Newton, the Corresponding Secretary, New York City. The next emigrant vessel will leave New York for Hayti on the 18th of this month.